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IS HEALTHFUL REUNION IMPOSSIBLE?

A SECOND LETTER

TO THE VERY REV.

110843

J. H. NEWMAN, D.D.

BY THE REV.

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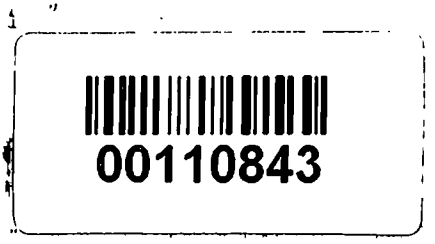

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LETTER II.

ON THE POSSIBILITY OF CORPORATE REUNION, AND OF EXPLANATION ON THE PART OF ROME.

My dearest Friend,

Two years, as you see, have passed since I concluded my former Letter to you. I was engaged in substituting the evidence on the Immaculate Conception, which Cardinal de Turrecremata was commissioned to collect on his side, for that which I had previously selected from De Bandelis, when I broke off the work, unable, for the time, to continue the labour of verifying, as far as I could, or supplementing that evidence. I did not resume it, thinking it hopeless at present to attempt any thing, amid the disdain or condemnation with which some among you in England received the far-off suggestions of reconciliation, and the storm which some among us were attempting to raise against those who believe as I do. The disdain has not been mitigated; the effort to raise a storm is aggravated. What will be the

issue, He Alone knows, who "ruleth the raging of the sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of the people." Yet, in view of the Council which is to be held among you at the close of next year, I have thought it not amiss to continue to put together the evidence on the Immaculate Conception which Cardinal de Turrecremata was prevented by the confusion of the times from presenting to the Council of Basle, and which, although originally published with the sanction of Pope Paul III., is, I suppose, now with difficulty to be procured, though at Rome, I suppose, you have access to every thing. But in order to do justice to the evidence at all, it has been necessary to produce it at such length (considering also what has been opposed to it) that what, in its commencement, I intended to be only "a brief explanation" to yourself, has become a volume, and necessarily wears a controversial appearance. And so, since you tell me that you can have no possible objection to my introducing any statement on controverted points into my Letter to you, if only I say (what you think truly that I also should say) that, supposing that the Church declared and defined those controverted points in one particular way, you would receive such doctrines as part of the original faith, I thankfully begin again. For there is no one now on earth, to whom I would more readily write on such subjects, than yourself; no one (on what I must, alas! speak of as your side)

to whom I should so gladly write on the ultimate pacification of Christendom.

In principle, as you say, we should agree; only that I should "define the Church differently," or rather, I should follow the definition of the Church as I learnt it of those whom I early reverenced, representing, as I believe, the Communion in which my lot was cast. But in principle I agree, that upon any point which a General Council, received by the whole Church, should pronounce to be "de fide," private judgment is at an end. Private judgment has no place there. It is for the Church to decide upon the evidence, whether from Holy Scripture or from unbroken tradition from the first. She, not individuals, is the judge of that evidence; for she, not individuals apart from her, has our Lord's promises. Whatever she should decide, I should not only accept, but it has long been my habit of mind, "implicitè" to accept it beforehand. I mean that, while of course I believe all which I know that the Church has defined, I believe, with my inmost will, whatever she holds, whether I know it or no. I do indeed hope, on different grounds, that the Roman Church will not define, as matters of faith, the specific instances which you mention, viz., "that the Pope, speaking ex cathedra, is infallible, or that the Augustinian or the Dominican view of predestination is not the true one; or that S. John Baptist, by a special privilege, was preserved from venial sin." But, if

the whole Church, including the Greek and Anglican Communions, were to define these or any other points, to be "de fide," I should hold all further inquiry as to evidence to be at an end. In whatever way they should rule any question, however contrary to my previous impressions, I should submit to it, and hold it, as being, by such universal consent of the whole Church, proved to be part of the Apostles' faith. I have ever submitted my credenda to a power beyond myself. We have differed, then, and must differ, upon a point of fact—what are the component parts of that Church, whose reception of any doctrine saves us from all further inquiry, and rules that doctrine for us; not as to the principle, whether any such power exists.

This, then, premised, I will not hesitate to write to you about my hopes as to the future reunion of Christendom.

That reunion has now for some time been the object of thought, of preaching, and, above all, of prayer. The thought, as you well remember, penetrates our public prayers. Whenever we celebrate the Holy Eucharist, we pray, priests and people, that God would "inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, *unity, and concord;*" and "that all they that do confess" His "Holy Name may agree, in the truth of" His "Holy Word, and *live in unity* and Godly love." We pray twice a day for the Holy Church, as one;

"for the good estate of the Catholic Church;" yet we pray, also, that "it may be so guided and governed by" God's "good Spirit, that all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth, and hold *the faith, in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace*, and in righteousness of life." We pray that the whole Church may be so guided by the Holy Spirit of God, that all individuals upon whom Christ's Holy Name is called may hold "*the* faith,"—the one faith, "in unity of spirit and the bond of peace."

God has heard these prayers in part. For when, on the striking of a chord, there is a deep and wide vibration in the hearts of men, one cannot doubt that those hearts have been secretly attuned beforehand; else they would not so respond. And when the note, to which they so respond, is one of peace and love, then their souls must have been brought into unison by *His* hallowing influence, Who is Alone "the Author of peace and lover of concord." The name of reunion has been but named; some hints have but been given of a way, in which, in our belief, a healthful re-union might be effected, and forthwith the thought finds entrance where we would least have hoped it; it is entertained, weighed, dwelt upon, hoped for, by many; and if, by more, to whose minds the difficulties are more present than the mode of obviating those difficulties, it is called "a beautiful dream," still the heart says it is

"beautiful," and by acknowledgment of its beauty, does, when speaking of a sacred thing, acknowledge that it is Divine. For its beauty, if not that of a Divine truth, must be that of a delusive meteor; which were shocking and impossible. It could not but be, that the earnest conception of the idea of re-union should stir men's hearts in their very depth. For since that Organic Union which must ever subsist in the Church, being wrought by the One indwelling Spirit and the common Sacraments, is an union of nature, corresponding to the Union of the Father and the Son, then that subjective unity, too, which is the result of human but God-given love and the harmony of human wills, must be a primary duty and a condition of our well-being, not to be sacrificed, except unwillingly, as a necessity involved in the conditions required.

This response has been the more remarkable, because the chord was touched so slightly and incidentally. I was writing no treatise on Christian unity or on the re-union of Christendom; still less was I attempting any heart-stirring appeal to men's hearts or principles. I was but writing a defence of the English Church (which it had been put upon me to write), against a root-and-branch attack upon it on the Roman side. I could not point out our agreement on great matters of faith, without pointing out also what I believed to justify our state of isolation. I could not conscientiously

dwell on the causes of isolation, without pointing to a gleam, which I hoped I saw beyond—a way in which I trusted that all Christendom might be united, on the basis of what all the Churches hold to be of faith, and which is primitive, apart from those things which, however widely held, are not "de fide." God, I hope, put it into my heart to change what was begun, at the instance of others, as a mere defence, into suggestions of re-union. But the vaguer and more incidental the hints of the possibility of the re-union and of its possible terms were, the more manifestly was the response, not to my poor disjointed words, but to the great thought itself—the re-union of Christendom. I wished but to awaken hopes, that a healthful re-union was possible, a re-union which should involve no sacrifice of truth. If hope should be awakened, then that icy hindrance to prayer, despondency as to the possibility of what we pray for, would be dissolved. Men would pray, God would hearken, and do what and as He sees best.

There are, of course, *primâ facie* difficulties and objections against such hopes ; else the actual state of things would not be what it is. I only suggested that such difficulties are not insurmountable. Those difficulties have been represented much in this way ; that re-union itself is a beautiful dream, but impracticable: 1) on account of the immutability of Rome, which, it is said, could not make any *concessions*, without giving up its belief in the

infallibility of the Church; 2) on account of the actual indisposition of the English Church, that her people would never accept the terms which alone Rome could give; 3) much the same is said of the alleged stiffness of the Greek and Russian Church.

1) But the term "concessions" is ambiguous. If by "concessions" were meant the declaration that *that* is not "de fide" which has been declared to be "de fide," "concessions" in this sense, would, of course, be contrary to the fundamental principles of the Roman Church, or to its claims to be alone the Church, whose decisions would consequently be infallible. But in all matters of discipline, "concessions" might be made without any violation of principle on your part. Nay, it is said, that to some Easterns in communion with Rome a married priesthood is permitted, and (which is a very deep feeling among some of us) the gift of the Cup; or (which touches more on matters of faith) they are allowed, it is said, the use of the unaltered Creed of Nice and Constantinople, without the word "Filioque," which yet, as was agreed at the Council of Florence, expresses the common faith of the East and the West, although it has, for centuries, been understood in a wrong sense in the East. Owing, I suppose, to an almost invincible prejudice, sedulously instilled by Photius, and transmitted from generation to generation, that the word "Filioque" involved the heresy of two Ἀρχαὶ

in the Divine Nature, it is said to have been allowed to them to retain the unaltered Creed, Rome being, I suppose, satisfied on her side, that their mislike of the word does not arise from any rejection of the doctrine, that, in the language of their forefathers the great Greek Fathers, God the Holy Ghost eternally proceedeth from the Father (διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ) through the Son. This, if true, is the graver, on account of the reverence to the All-Holy Trinity, Whose Eternal mode of existence is thus spoken of.

Again, as to one ground of the original rejection of King Henry VIII. or Queen Elizabeth, "and their adherents" respectively, the election of our Bishops, or the right of appeals in *all* ecclesiastical causes to Rome, it has been said by an able and candid Jesuit writer[1], that appeals to Rome are almost

[1] The following passage in the "Études Religieuses," &c. (March, 1866, No. 39, pp. 388, 389), will be read with great interest:—"Since the beginning of this century, very few suits have been carried to Rome in appeal, from France, Belgium, Holland, the Rhine Provinces, England, Scotland, Ireland, the United States, Canada. Very certainly there have not been, in all, more than some ten cases from these different countries which have been terminated in the last instance at Rome. The Council of Trent, and the Popes who have reigned since, have reduced processes in the Roman Curia to the narrowest limits. The Council of Trent (sess. 24. c. 20) forbad the introduction of processes in the first instance. Extra-judicial appeals have been, so to say, fundamentally extirpated by the Popes Clement VIII., Gregory XV., Urban VIII., Benedict XIII., and especially Benedict XIV., in the Constitution *Ad militantis* of March 30, 1742. The same Council was not less

universally disused. The nomination to bishoprics has been the subject of Concordats with different

severe in regard to appeals called 'interlocutory,' and to all by-ways of hindering condemnations. There remain judicial appeals from definitive sentences. The ancient Concordats of France restricted these to 'causæ majores' and to those of monasteries immediately subject to the Holy See; and it is known that Innocent X. declared null of full right any thing done against the Concordats. Many religious have been forbidden by Popes, under the severest penalties, to appeal outside their Orders. But what, more than all the rest, has reduced appeals and processes almost to nothing, is, that ambition and avarice have almost disappeared from the Catholic Clergy, purified by the Revolutions. At least, very few ecclesiastics would now sacrifice their conscience or their repose to these vices. Processes, then, are detested. The priests leave themselves to the equity of their Bishops; and, if any unusual difficulties present themselves, Bishops and priests betake themselves to the Roman Congregations, who examine and decide, summarily and without expense, the question of right at issue. Processes, then, are fallen into such desuetude, that probably, in all France, Belgium, Holland, England, and the Rhine Provinces, not one would be found capable of conducting any other ecclesiastical processes than processes in nullity of marriage.

"If Dr. P. will allow me to say so to him, he lives far too much in old books. He has seen that appeals, both in the civil and ecclesiastical forum, readily give occasion to abuses, and, consequently, that there have been always very grave complaints on this subject. But what he has not seen is, that the Council of Trent and the Popes have done all which is possible for man to cut short these grievances. Does Mr. P. believe that we are still amongst the misdoings of the 15th and of the first half of the 16th century? And if he does, why does he not become acquainted with the present state of affairs among Catholics, as the celebrated Protestant historian Leo, who declared not long ago, that Protestantism never would have

Roman Catholic powers. And yet, to judge by the, I must say, unintelligent tumult which was raised on the ground of the appointment of English Roman Catholic Prelates, instead of the Apostolic legates by whom the Roman Catholics in England used to be governed, this is a matter of considerable feeling among the English people. I say, "unintelligent," because although, as relates to the English Church, it was a very grave change, and does much embarrass the subject of corporate reunion, the feeling awakened among the English people had nothing to do with the Church, but originated perhaps in the transmitted memory of ancient wrongs; any how, it was a dislike of the distribution of our English territory, even for purposes purely religious or ecclesiastical, by one whom they held to be a "foreign potentate[2]." It was

been brought about, had there, in the 16th century, been a discipline like that which flourishes now, and which is the fruit of the Council of Trent." In answer to this last appeal, I would say here, that I spoke of the past because my subject related to the past. I spoke of appeals, only on the defensive, that the Church of England, in consenting to the suppression of appeals, had not gone against any thing of Divine right. If I spoke of the evils in times past, it was because, in the absence of Concordats, those evils justified the suppression of the cause of them.

[2] While writing this, I see that a Wesleyan, Mr. Jackson, says, "Nor will we, as John Wesley's sons in the Gospel, ever consent that the power vested in the Crown of England should be shared with an Italian priest" (Letter read at Wesleyan Conference). Yet he might as well have spoken of "the

resented simply as an insult to the English sovereign, and the tumult was allayed by an unscrupulous politician, who promised to the people of England that the dignity of the Crown should be maintained in a way which he knew to be nugatory, and attempted to turn their indignation upon those who believe as myself. During the solemn farce of the debate on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, one could only look on with amazement, how intelligent men could maintain with so much earnestness an enactment, of which they must have known, from past experience, that at the moment it became part of the English law, it would also become a dead letter. It reminded one of Cicero's expression of wonder, how Augurs could look with a grave face at one another. But the more unreasonable and unreasoning the tumult was, the more it illustrated the strength of the underlying feeling, and the value of Concordats for our insular people, whenever other matters should be so arranged that there would be any scope for them.

But the graver and deeper question relates, not to "concessions" at all, but to explanations.

2) Yet "explanations," such as I stated that,

power vested in the Crown of England" being "shared with the Wesleyan Conference," since the Crown has no more authority over the Wesleyans than it has over English Roman Catholics. In the case of either, the civil courts would, if appealed to, adjudge as to any question of property, and unless appealed to by one who held himself aggrieved, the civil magistrate would equally interfere with neither.

judging from eminent writers in the Roman Communion, I believe that you could give and we could receive, are not "concessions." To ask for "explanations" as to the meaning of terms, e. g. (as I have instanced), what is the meaning of the word "*substantia* panis" in the Holy Eucharist; or to inquire whether this or that is involved in the terms of such or such a declaration of faith; or whether such or such a belief held dear among us, as the doctrine of justification for the merits of Christ Alone, be inconsistent with any Roman doctrine—this, though the multiplicity of such explanations may be even wearisome, is not to ask for "concessions." It is only to ask that terms, used by the Council of Trent, should be cleared up to us. It is, in truth, only to ask what it is which is proposed to our belief, when we are called upon to accept that Council as the condition of re-union. This, if there was any reasonable (or, I might say, any unreasonable) doubt, the charity of the Church would, I should have thought, at no time have refused.

The far-sighted Cardinal Wiseman himself suggested this, when, on occasion of your own most eventful tract, he laid down as a first principle, "[3] We must explain to the utmost." With his remarkable foresight, he saw for your Tract XC. an office which you did not yourself contemplate. He called it "a *demonstration* that such an in-

[3] Letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

terpretation may be given to the most difficult of the XXXIX Articles, as will strip them of all contradiction to the Tridentine Synod." He praised "the plan" (as he thought) "which the eventful Tract No. XC. has pursued," of "bringing their [our] doctrines into accordance with ours [yours] by *explanation*." Cardinal Wiseman also praised Bossuet's observation, that "Providence had allowed so much Catholic truth to be retained in the Augsburg Confession; that full advantage should be taken of the circumstance; that no retractation should be demanded, but an *explanation* of the Confession in accordance with Catholic doctrine[4]." But "explanation" is almost necessarily mutual. For to say, that formularies, if explained to mean this or that, do not contravene the Tridentine Synod, is virtually to say, that the meaning thus accepted, is an adequate meaning of the terms of this Synod.

Bossuet states (as he has been quoted), that "Nothing will ever be done, either by the Roman Pontiff or by any Catholic whatever, by which the Tridentine decrees of faith can be shaken." But he immediately subjoins, "[5] There remains one way, that all things should be composed in the way of *declaration*." I may then, at least in the outline of what I have ventured to suggest, shelter myself under the shadow of that great name.

[4] Letter to Earl of Shrewsbury, p. 38.
[5] T. xxvi. p. 36.

What he states to be impossible, I have admitted to be so. I have suggested only what Bossuet states to be "one way" which "remains,"—"declaration," viz. of the meaning of the Roman Church.

He sums up his acknowledgment about the Lutheran Confession, "[6] It will be most convenient that scarcely any new decrees need be framed, but that, by that way of exposition and declaration, fit and consistent interpretations should be brought, so that the defenders of the Confession of Augsburg should seem of their own mind to have come to themselves, and to have explained their own constitutions."

This explanation Bossuet did not conceive of as simply interpreting the Lutheran formulæ in a Roman sense; he admitted also of the introduction of clauses which should limit popular Roman expressions.

Thus, on the crucial question of "the Invocation of saints," the Lutheran Abbot of Lokkum asked (in part in language whose inaccuracy Bossuet pointed out) for a recognition of the principle, which many of your writers have laid down, that, even when things are asked directly of the saints, nothing more is intended than by the simple "Ora pro nobis." He wished it to be stated, that whatever be the language employed, they are not asked as though it were in their own power to grant any

[6] De Profess. Conf. Aug. P. 3. art. 4, et ult. T. xxvi. p. 80.

thing, but only to pray our Lord with us, that He would grant it. The Lutheran's proposition was [7],—

"If the Roman Catholics say publicly that they have no other trust toward the saints, than that which they feel towards the living, whose intercessions they implore; that they understand all and each of the prayers directed to them, in what words or forms soever conceived, no otherwise than intercessionally,—as when they say 'Sancta Maria, libera me in hora mortis,' the meaning is, 'Holy Mary, intercede for me with thy Son, that He free me in the hour of death,'—the peril alleged by Protestants as to the Invocation of Saints will cease. If, moreover, the Romans from time to time teach their people that the Invocation of Saints is not simply enjoined, but by the force of the Council of Trent is placed at every one's choice, whether he would direct his prayers to the saint or to God Himself; that the saints ought not to be invoked rashly and needlessly on every occasion, but *then*, when one, fearing the wrath of God for some atrocious sin, for humility dared not to raise his eyes or direct his prayers immediately to God; that prayer directed to God is much more efficacious, than those directed to departed saints; that that prayer is the most perfect of all, which, as far as may be, abstracts itself from every creature, and cleaves more profoundly to the Divine attributes."

To avoid misunderstanding, I would say more expressly, that I do not adopt all these wishes of the Lutheran. The last expression must have

[7] Cogitationes privatæ de methodo reunionis Ecclesiæ Protestantium cum Ecclesia Romano-Catholica, a Theologo quodam Augustanæ Confessioni sincerè addicto, citra cujusvis præjudicium in chartam conjectæ, et, superiorum suorum consensu, privatim communicatæ cum illustrissimo ac reverendissimo DD. Jacobo Benigno, S. R. E. Meldensi Episcopo; in Bossuet, Œuvres, T. xxv. p. 304.

escaped the writer unawares, since, unless he had been a Socinian, he could not have meant that we were in such wise to "cleave to the Divine attributes" as to lose sight of the Humanity of our Divine Redeemer. But further, supposing that it was laid down authoritatively, that in no case are the saints to be asked to do more than to pray for us to our common Lord, I see no ground to limit those requests to the case "where a man fears the wrath of God for some atrocious sin." Rather, by such limitation, the Lutheran seems to me to encourage the very thought which we most dread, that the saints, and especially the Blessed Virgin, being by reason of their pure human nature nearer to us, may compassionate us more readily than our Dear Lord. For, since He is God, His love is infinite; human love can be but finite. But my object in citing this at all, lies in Bossuet's answer, that an additional statement might be introduced, to meet the fears of "Protestants." His reply is,—

"[8] These requirements have already been granted voluntarily by the Council of Trent. But lest the Protestants should say that we trust too little in Christ the Mediator, it may be added, that Catholics flee to the prayers of the saints on the ground of the communion of brotherly charity, not because they fear to lift up their eyes to an offended God. For access is open to us through Christ; yet we own that it is through fear of the Divine anger that we are induced to associate our prayers with

[8] T. xxviii. pp. 386, 387.

those of the saints who already enjoy the Divine light and love. That prayer directed to God is more effectual and perfect, may be omitted on account of ambiguity. For the saying, that 'that prayer is most perfect which cleaves to the Divine attributes alone,' might be drawn to mean, that we should abstract our minds from the Man Christ. We should seem also to acknowledge that they who ask for the prayers of living brethren, in a manner depart from God and are imperfect, whereas Paul himself did it; and, in truth, one who says 'Brethren, pray for me,' does not depart from God, but associates himself with his brethren in addressing Him. But that the formulæ of prayer are to be understood intercessionally is an exposition of the Catholic meaning most true and equitable, worthy of a peace-loving and learned man, and agreeable to the decrees of the Council of Trent."

M. Nampon, a Jesuit, in his work "Study of the Catholic Doctrine in the Council of Trent, proposed as a means of Re-union for all Christian Communities," subjoins the statements of Veron on each head of the Creed of Pius IV., as to what questions are not defined as "de fide." Under the head of the Invocation of Saints, are the following, which are set down, I suppose, to meet the objections of different minds:—

"It is not of faith that the saints hear from heaven the prayers which the living address to them (though it is a necessary consequence of the dogma which declares their invocation useful), nor that the saints are our mediators with God, and not Jesus Christ Alone; nor that we are required to invoke them; nor that any given saint, whom we invoke, e. g. Laurence, Vincent, Gervais, &c., is a saint; nor that the cultus due to saints is a religious act, properly so called."

The only points of Catholic doctrine, according

to Veron, are, "It is permitted to honour the saints who reign with Christ," "It is permitted to invoke them."

In the little work which has been so standard a text-book among English Roman Catholics, "Roman Catholic principles in reference to God and the King," which was sent to Pitt as the justification of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, it is laid down, as the sum of the Roman Catholic faith on this point,—

"Catholics believe that the blessed saints in heaven, replenished with charity, pray for us their fellow-members here on earth; that they rejoice at our conversion; that, seeing God, they see and know in Him all things suitable to their happy state. But God may be inclinable to hear their requests made in our behalf, and for their sakes may grant us many favours; therefore we believe that it is good and profitable to desire their intercession. Can this manner of invocation be more injurious to Christ our Mediator, than it is for one Christian to beg the prayers of another here on earth?"

Now, to keep to the principle of explanation only, it seems impossible that the Roman Church should, if asked, refuse formally to sanction explanations which have been put forth with so much authority as some of these have had, to gain converts or to obtain civil privileges. But principles so enunciated would remove most of the objections which lie so deep in the English mind (such, I mean, as are not members of the Roman Church, whether members of the English Church or Dissenters), against the invocation. This would

remove what has been the special crux to many of us.

There are, indeed, those among you, who think that there is no choice between—

"[9] Degrading the office of the Blessed Virgin as the Mother of our Redeemer, or ascribing to her the most majestic of those titles [Co-Redemptress, Co-operatress and helper of Christ in our salvation, &c.], and the most transcendent of those privileges which have been found for her in the pious inventions of saintly love; that the love and cultus of the B. V. must be an extreme or a nullity."

Another can find no title but that of Satan [1] for one who is startled at these titles, and who professes that he is so. But these do not represent, I trust, the body of Roman theologians: there are, among foreign theologians too, those who are scandalized at the excesses of "books of piety." What would satisfy the English Church would, I trust, find concurrence in, and be of value to, the Roman, in moderating what they, as well as I, believe to be unauthorized excesses.

On another point, Bossuet directs attention to "the moderation with which the fathers of Trent defined the subject of indulgences, whence the conflagration arose," and adds,—

[9] Oakeley, p. 20.

[1] "Be not weary yet, for the accuser does not easily tire of accusing. To the blessed S. John it was revealed that the accusing spirit accused the brethren by day and by night. He is not silenced even yet."—The Lady Chapel; or, Dr. Pusey's Peacemaker, by the Rev. F. Gallwey, p. 26.

"[2] Whoever, in pacific mind, will read, not invidious histories, but the decrees of the Councils themselves, will readily understand that its authority would avail especially to keep restrained within their limits wanton spirits, which would, among Catholics too, burst out into wrong novelties, so that they should not obtrude their opinions upon others."

This is, so far, just what we wish. It is not our business to act as reformers of the Roman Church, or to make ourselves judges of the religious opinions of others. We only wish to be protected from having those opinions taught with a quasi-authority to us and our people.

But we are met in the outset by preliminary difficulties. 1) "Either," it is said, "you submit to the Church, and then you will not want explanations, or you do not submit, and then explanations would be of no use to you." Or again, 2) "To receive the Council of Trent because, if explained as you wish, it agrees with your previous belief, is an act of private judgment; and an act of private judgment can make no man a Catholic."

1) Now, on the first, your divines would, I think, distinguish between questions of principle and questions as to fact. In regard to the office of the Church, and the consequent duties of individuals towards her in the abstract, the Council of Trent and the Church of England are, I am persuaded, agreed. Both Churches hold and must hold, what Holy Scripture teaches, that the Church

[2] Projet de Réunion, p. 3, art. 3, De Concilio Trident.—Œuvres, xxvi. p. 76.

is "the pillar and ground of the truth;" both agree that she has the office to transmit, guard, preach, propagate that God-given truth; both must hold, that what has once been infallibly fixed cannot receive any additional certainty (since nothing can add to infallibility), and so, that with regard to all which has been fixed by Œcumenical Councils, the office of the Church is only to transmit and teach it. Later Œcumenical Councils did not add authority to the earlier, but entered on their office by the confession of what had been laid down by those before them. And since, as time went on and heresies emerged, more and more matters of faith were thus infallibly fixed, both must agree that, thus far, the office of defining doctrine gradually lessened (since there was less left to define), the office of transmitting what was already defined was proportionably increased. The rich body of floating truth, which tradition bore down, was changed into written truth; unwritten tradition and written doctrine changed their proportions. We too alike acknowledge, that "the Church has authority in controversies of faith;" and, if authority, then Divine authority, since no other authority can be binding on the conscience in matters of faith. Both alike recognize those General Councils which have been "received by all men." Both alike acknowledge that it belongs to the Church, whenever occasion emerges, to set forth in new terms any portion of that transmitted truth

which is contained in Holy Scripture, attested by tradition. Both alike hold, that the Church has no authority to declare any thing as Divine truth which is indeed new, i. e. which has not really a Divine original, derived from the time and from the authority of our Blessed Lord and His Apostles. The Council of Trent is so stringent on this point, that there can be no question about it. On the other hand, as I said at the outset, the Church, not individuals, must be the judge, whether what she proposes as "of faith" does rest on that tradition. All must admit this as to Œcumenical Councils, i. e. all General Councils received by all.

The question is one as to fact, whether the Roman Church be alone the Church, to the exclusion of the great Eastern Church and our own widely-spread communion. But the acknowledgment of this was not required in any of the great Councils held for the reconciliation of the East and West. To instance the great Council of Florence alone, which had so nearly accomplished that reunion, though there seems to be some obscurity as to the terms upon which the relation of other Churches to Rome was settled.

Pope Eugenius, in fixing the Council at Ferrara, set forth the goodness of God towards His Church, that "[3] the Eastern and Western people, who had so long been severed from one another by disagreement (dissidio a se invicem sejuncti), hasten

[3] Decretum Papæ, Conc. Flor. T. xviii. p. 22. Col.

to come together into one grace of unity and peace. For as is meet, ill-enduring the being severed by this long discord, they have, after many ages, through *His* gift, from Whom every good gift cometh, met together in this place, through longing for holy union. It is, then, and we consider it to be, the work of our service and of the whole Church, to endeavour with all our power that these so prosperous beginnings may, by continual and unceasing zeal, receive a happy advance and issue, so that we may be found worthy to be fellow-workers with the grace of God."[4]

In conformity with this, was the exhortation of the Patriarch read publicly,—

"'In the Name of the Holy Trinity, the Source of life, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the two parts of the Christians, the Italians and the Greeks, have to-day agreed to proclaim the holy, sacred, Œcumenical Synod, the holy fathers of the Eastern Church on the one side, the most serene king John Palæologus, and the Patriarch Joseph, and the archbishops, &c., of the Eastern Church; and on the other side of the Italians, the whole Western holy Church of Rome, and the most blessed Pope, and all his Bishops, we agree and approve that this holy and Œcumenical Synod be in this city of Ferrara."

There was no question raised of one party being schismatic, but of healing a long schism. Even the claim that the Pope should sit in the middle, as the head, was waived[5]; and, on reference to the ancient synods, the Gospels, as representing our Lord, were placed in the centre[6], and the Pope,

[4] Ib. p. 19. [5] Ib. p. 15. [6] Ib. p. 19.

then the Emperor of Germany, then the Cardinals, &c., sat on the north side; the Greek Emperor and the four Patriarchs on the south side. The very grave subject of the Filioque was discussed freely; and the discussion was concluded by the mutual explanation, that the Doctors of East and West had each had the same meaning under different terms, and that neither meant what the other had inferred from their expression[7]. There were no reproaches for the past; no designation of the great Greek Church as Photians or schismatics; but their Patriarchs were, antecedently to the reconciliation, recognized as an integral part of the Church of Christ. The hoped-for reconciliation was the meeting together of the members of a divided family, not the incorporation into the one body of Christ of members who were severed from that body.

It was in harmony at least with these Acts of the Council, that Cardinal Julian seemed ready to give up what the Latins had held to be the 8th General Council, that in which Photius had been condemned. For his words, "[8] as to the 8th Council we have no concern," though simple in themselves, come with weight from the President of the Council in formal answer to the objections of Mark of Ephesus. He also formally promised, "nothing shall be recited out of that Council, viz.

[7] Collat. xxii. p. 1146. Col.

[8] Conc. Florent. Sess. vi. T. xviii. p. 88. Col.

the 8th." As the Council was not on matters of faith, it was, I suppose, in the power of the Church to ignore it; and but for mismanagement, the title of the 8th General Council, given prematurely to the Council of Florence by its publisher, with approbation of the Pope [9], might have stood. The Latin Church would, of course, not have receded from any thing which it had declared "of faith." The title would only have expressed this—that the whole Church being now, it was hoped, reunited in visible communion, the Roman Church was willing to drop all mention of those Councils which had not had so wide a reception as the first seven Councils had had, or, as it was hoped, the Council of Florence would have.

I do not mean to urge the precedent of the Council of Florence for more than it is worth. It is true that we are not united among ourselves, as the Greeks are. I only mean this—that should we, through prayer to God and the operation of

[9] As expressed in the "Privilegium editionis" given by Clement VII. to Abraham of Crete. Neither the Acts nor Decrees of the Council, nor the diplomas of Eugenius IV., Pagi observes, give it that title (ad A. 869, n. 16). Natalis Alexander (H. E. T. xii. Diss. iv. §. 24, p. 297) holds that the Pope was imposed upon; yet the fact which he alleges, that the Popes were, during the division, bound by oath to maintain the 8th Council also, does not involve the continuance of that obligation, should the disunion be healed. Mansi says that it was in conformity to the custom of the Greeks, whether "schismatic or agreed with the Latins," to call the Council of Florence the 8th Council. Note on Nat. Al. l. c.

the Holy Spirit, become united among ourselves, corporate reunion is not, on this ground, impossible.

II. Nor was the recognition of the decrees of the Roman Church required as an antecedent condition of negotiations for reunion. The Easterns have had and have that inveterate prejudice, that our Western confession of the "Filioque" involves (which would be heresy) that there are two Ἀρχαὶ in the Divine Nature. The point was discussed and cleared up.

In like way, even as to a Protestant body, Bossuet, in his negotiations with the German Protestants, we may be sure, proposed nothing, of which he was not assured that it would have, or had, the sanction of the Roman Church. Yet, while rejecting the Protestant proposal, that the Council of Trent should be held suspended until after the decision of a new Council, he himself proposed that it should not be urged upon the Protestants in the first instance. It was to serve only as the document of the Roman Faith, as, on the other hand, the Lutheran symbolical books were to serve as the authentic documents of the Lutheran belief. It was Bossuet's conviction that the original unaltered Lutheran confessions could be harmonized with the Council of Trent, by the way of mutual explanation.

"[1] Do we then, you will say, take our stand on things already

[1] De Profess. Conf. Aug. ad repet. unit. Cathol. disponendis. P. i. c. 8. P. ii. Præf. T. xxvi. pp. 13—15.

judged, and use prescription against the Protestants by the authority of the Council of Trent? Not so. Our requisitions for peace are more equitable, and we allow the saying of Augustine against Maximine the Arian to hold here. '[2] Neither ought *I* to allege the Council of Nice, nor *you* that of Ariminum, to pre-judge the question. Neither am *I* held by the authority of the latter, nor *you* of the former.' In this way, the Councils and Acts on either side are in a manner held suspended, fore-judgments on both sides being removed, in view not of defining but of discussing. For, of strict right, the Arians had no ground for declining the authority of the Nicene Synod, but the Catholics had just grounds for saying that the Synod of Ariminum was, with evil intent, super-induced on matters already judged. That argument, too, of Athanasius, should hold, which is, in sum, '[3] What new cause has arisen? why a new synod?' But these things belong, perhaps, to contention, and not equally to peace. Nor do we now urge the Tridentine decrees. Be that synod a witness only of our faith. Out of this, we reject many things falsely imputed to us; a thing most useful and of primary necessity to the business of peace. We will employ, too, the symbolical books of the Lutheran side, and will show through them that the greatest dissensions not only can be composed, but are already composed, which is the way of clearing up (declaratio) and exposition upon which we have now to enter."

"This way of exposition, we have said, consists of two things: first, the exposition of our doctrine out of the Council of Trent, and the confession of faith taken therefrom; then the exposition of the doctrine of the Protestants out of the Confession of Augsburg, and other symbolical (as they call them) or authentic books."

Having compared and explained both the Council

[2] C. Maximin. ii. 14.

[3] De Synodis. n. 3. 5. 6. Works against the Arians, T. i. pp. 75—81. Oxf. Tr.

of Trent and the Lutheran symbolical books "on justification and the Articles connected therewith," viz. "that justification is a free gift," "on works and merits following on justification," "the promise gratis and the perfection and acceptance of good works," "the fulfilling the law," "merits which are called ex condigno," "justifying faith," "the certainty of justifying faith," "grace and the co-operation of free-will," he has a separate Article, "why this method of conciliation seems calculated to please."

"[4] By these things I think that both parties will be satisfied. For neither would the Catholics have to reject the Tridentine faith, nor the Lutherans the Confession of Augsburg and its apology. We believe that the more moderate Lutherans will be pleased with this, because they would not seem so much to reject as to interpret their own (formularies) and to admit the Tridentine *with those elucidations*, from which no one, not even the Confession of Augsburg, would dissent. Nor do I doubt that the rest, whatsoever shall be proposed, can *equally be elucidated by a true, just, and convenient declaration*[4]."

In answer to the "method of re-union" by Molanus, he says,—

"[5] If that harsh expression of retractation or abjuration is so much disliked, not by the stronger but by the weaker, or at least by more modest minds, well, let us, after the example of that excellent man[6], embrace that which is the mildest, viz. to harmonize the doctrines of faith, upon which we are to agree, *by a clear explanation and declaration*. But I think

[4] Ib. Art. 9, pp. 31, 32.
[5] N. lxiii. T. xxv. pp. 413, 414.
[6] In explic. theorem.

that the whole matter has made such progress, that I could undertake to frame very many, and those the gravest, articles of this declaration, in no other words than those of the very learned man. Let the Tridentine Synod, the Confession of Augsburg, the Apology, other symbolical books of the Lutherans, be adduced as witnesses of the faith of each party; let those things in the Council of Trent be selected, which may pave the way to peace; if there occur any obscurity or difficulty, let it be set forth, not as matter of blame, but *of elucidation;* so, I trust, may all things be arranged peacefully. As an essay thereto, I will proceed to produce some statements on all the articles touched upon by that most distinguished person, leaving to him to polish and to perfect them. This being premised, let us, under *His* guidance, Who is the Giver of peace, yea, Who is Himself our Peace, begin this blessed undertaking of peace under much such title as this:—

"Declaration of orthodox faith, which the maintainers of the Confession of Augsburg could offer to the Roman Pontiff."

Now, since Bossuet could think that the Lutheran symbolical books could be brought into harmony with the Council of Trent, much more, I should think, could the Articles of the Church of England, since our Articles, on the primary subject of justification, have not many difficulties, which the Lutheran system involves. Thus we have in common to explain the doctrine of justification by faith only (which yet can have no difficulty, if we bear in mind that "faith which worketh by love" is the only true faith, and that any thing else is a dead faith, or the faith of devils); but we have no statement "about the fulfilling of the law," "of merits said to be ex condigno," and especially "of the certainty of justifying faith," "of the co-operation

of free-will" to justify. On one subject only was reconciliation easier to them, that, in the Apology for their Confession, they had admitted the word "Transubstantiation," which we, in a certain sense, have rejected; yet on this subject, too, "on the presence extra usum," there were very grave difficulties to be removed on the Lutheran side, which we have not.

Bossuet, when comparatively young, and Dean of Metz, had pursued the same course even towards a Calvinist Minister, Ferry. This overture has, I suppose, attracted less attention, because Ferry was not a remarkable man, and the negotiation made no progress. But it is remarkable for the avowal, on Bossuet's part, that the re-union was hindered in good degree by misunderstandings, which explanation would remove. It appears, too (which one felt certain of as to the negotiations with Leibnitz), that Bossuet knew that he should be borne out in his proposal by the Roman Church [7].

[7] This appears in a letter of M. Maimbourg to Ferry. "It is true that he [Bossuet] had the goodness to explain the matters to me with great clearness and fairness, and that he put them in such clear light, that I have no difficulty left on the matters which you have already examined together. After having shown him all the articles of your letter which related to him, he showed me all the papers which he had sent you at Metz or here. I am not surprised, after explanations so important, that you felt yourself obliged to go deeper into these matters, according to all the openings which shall be given you; and I find, in fact, that never have they explained themselves so clearly. I showed him, thereupon, that I doubted exceedingly whether he would be owned in all these things;

Bossuet's account of the result of several conferences with Ferry is,—

"[a] We agreed that we were obliged on both sides to labour with all our might to heal the schism which separates us, and to close so great a wound. I said to him on our side, that we were more disposed than ever to apply ourselves to this, and to seek means thereto; that the most necessary of all was, *to explain ourselves lovingly*, and that, time and experience having shown that there was much misunderstanding and dispute of words in our controversies, there is reason to hope that *through these explanations* they will be either ended altogether, or considerably diminished. That, on that ground, a great number of theologians were resolved to seek opportunities of conferring with those ministers who were thought to be the most learned, most reasonable, and most inclined to peace; and that, having always thought him such, it would be a great joy to me, if we could speak with entire openness, as he on his side, expressed the same. We both thought that a century and a half of disputing ought to have cleared up many things, that we ought to have come back from extremities, and it was time, more than ever, to see in what we could agree. He thought it good and necessary to examine the principal causes which have alienated from us those of his communion; and to consider *what had to be explained on both sides*, in order that they might either altogether return, or at least approximate to us. We agreed that the previous question, which was to be laid as the foundation, was, whether the doctrines for which they left

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but he laughed at my fears, and asked me, with a smile, 'whether I thought him a man who would expose himself to be disowned.' Then resuming seriously, he told me that he advanced nothing of himself, that, in truth, all did not explain themselves with the same clearness, but that all agreed in the substance, and that, would God the only question was as to [his explanation] being owned!" Lett. V. in Bossuet, T. xxv. p. 130.

[a] "Récit de ce qui avait été traité entre le ministre Ferry et l'abbé Bossuet, dans plusieurs conférences particulières, qu'ils avaient eues ensemble." Bossuet, T. xxv. pp. 120—125.

us, destroyed, on their principles, the foundation of salvation. Entering into details, he granted to me that the article of the Real Presence [réalité] in the Eucharist did not destroy this foundation, seeing that neither we nor the Lutherans deny the Presence of Jesus Christ in Heaven, after the ordinary manner of bodies. As to Transubstantiation, he owned that his people maintained to the Lutherans, that our reasoning hereon was more consistent than theirs, and that it was one of the arguments which they employed against them. And for Adoration, he said that he could neither blame nor condemn it in those who believe the Presence of Jesus Christ in the Holy Sacrament. On the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, after the *explanations which I gave him in writing*, he agreed that there was no more difficulty. And certainly, I advanced nothing which is not universally approved among our people; and most assuredly the Church will be content that our adversaries should agree therein; which ought to give great hopes of agreeing on other points, provided there be the will to understand one another, since we were able to agree in this, on which he himself had thought that there would be most difficulty. In regard to Justification, he also agreed, at first, that, if we understood each other well, the whole question would be reduced either to disputes of words, or to things of very little moment; so that there would be no difficulty as to this article, which is yet the chief and most essential of all. As to Prayers to the Saints, I reminded him that he had written and taught formally in his Catechism, that they had not prevented our fathers from being saved, provided that they put all their trust in Jesus Christ; and he agreed that he had so taught. After I had explained to him what the Council of Trent says, that we are not to put our trust in images, nor believe that there is any virtue in them, for which they should be honoured; but that any honour is paid to them, only in memory of and in relation to those whom they represent, he did not, when we first spoke of it, make much difficulty; but on a second occasion he dwelt a little more upon it, letting me know, however, that we might agree on this article and on that of prayer to the saints, because we recognize no obligation to individuals to practise these things. In fact, it may be seen from this, that we are

far removed from placing the essence of religion in these practices, which only enter into religious cultus as far as they relate to God, Who is the essential and last End thereof. We said little of Purgatory and of Prayers for the Dead; but having recited to him, word for word, the passage of S. Augustine in the Enchiridion[g] to Laurentius and Sermons xvii.[1] and xxxi.[2] on the words of the Apostle in which he explicitly distinguishes three sorts of dead, of whom one is very good and does not need our prayers, another very bad, who can gain no consolation from them, the third between the two, who receive great help from the prayers and sacrifices of the Church, which is in set terms what we profess, he did not approve this belief. But having asked him whether he would, for this, have separated from the Communion of S. Augustine, he answered, No.

"We only spoke of these articles; and in treating of them, we did not enter into the question whether they ought to be believed or not, but only whether they overthrow the foundation of salvation; and this having given me occasion to ask him what was the foundation of salvation, he decided distinctly (as he had already in his writings), that it was that of justification and of confidence in God through Jesus Christ Alone; and on this we repeatedly owned that we should very easily come to an agreement, provided we wished to understand one another. I adduced to him on this subject some passages of the Council of Trent, wherein it is declared that the Christian has no confidence but in Christ Jesus, and the prayer which we say daily in the sacrifice of the Mass in these words: 'To us sinners too, who hope in the multitude of Thy mercies, vouchsafe to give some part and society with Thy blessed Apostles and martyrs, into whose fellowship we pray Thee to admit us, not weighing our merits, but granting us pardon through Christ our Lord.' So then, since it is clear that we cannot be accused of denying this foundation of salvation, I think that it is impossible not to avow, that our doctrine does not overthrow this essential principle of the faith and hope of the Christian.

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[g] c. cix. cx. n. 29, p. 151. Oxf. Tr.

[1] Serm. 159, n. s. Ben. p. 785, Oxf. Tr.

[2] Serm. 172, n. 2. p. 885, Oxf. Tr.

"On this, he having asked me whether, if he and his were agreed that our doctrine does not destroy the foundation of salvation, we thought that they could oblige us thereby to profess it, and consequently to embrace our communion, I answered them distinctly, that I did not at all mean this, and owned that there were two subjects to be considered separately with them: 1) Whether a doctrine was true or false; 2) Whether it overthrew the foundation of salvation or no; that the admission of this last did not involve the admission of the other, and could not bind them to admit any thing except that such doctrines ought to be endured, but not therefore that they were to be allowed or professed."

2) But, more broadly as to "private judgment" generally, you, at least, will recollect our old faith and our habits of mind enough, to know that we never consciously acted on "private judgment." On the contrary, it was that to which we were ever opposed. We all received an inherited faith, a faith inherited on authority; we all believed on the authority of the Church; some of us have, in ripening youth, when unable to see, or to learn from those whom we could consult, the Scriptural authority for some point of faith, continued to believe and hold that faith upon the authority of the Church in the Creeds, until we should be able to see it for ourselves. And believing it in this way, we came in time to see what we believed. We deepened our faith in the writings of the Fathers, because the Church, in which God had placed us, directed us to them and to their consentient teaching. But we studied them, not as critics, but as disciples. Those were happy hours, which we spent in their study. What

they unanimously taught, we believed; what they rejected, we rejected. Never did we consciously go against their collective authority. We published our "Library of the Fathers," in order to give to our countrymen a body of Catholic teaching. I have since heard, that eminent persons in the Roman Communion did not think that we could venture to translate works of the Fathers straight through. But we did, without fear. The *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*, itself a rule which we received, not on our private judgment, excluded private judgment. But we were directed to the study of the Fathers, not to the study of the Council of Trent. We came to the study of that Council with our traditional faith deepened, defined, made precise, by the study of the Fathers. We compared the Council of Trent with our previously-received faith. We could not receive it on the ground that "its decrees were infallible," because they could only be infallible if the Roman Catholic Church were alone the Church of Christ. And this we had not only not been taught, or been shown grounds to believe, but we had imbibed an opposed belief with our devotions, when, in the words of one whose words did much in framing our devotions, we prayed for "the Universal Church, the Eastern, the Western, our own." Not that we received this on his private authority. In this too he was but the exponent of our Creeds and of our prayers, when we prayed for

Christ's Holy Catholic Church, and therein for our own, when, in all her most solemn prayers, we prayed for that Catholic Church of which our own could but form a part, or, in the Ember Weeks, we prayed, not for the Bishops of our own Communion only, but for those of the "Universal Church which God had purchased to Himself by the Precious Blood of His Dear Son." We could not receive the decrees of the Council of Trent on the authority of the Roman Church alone, believing, as we did, that the Roman Church was a part only of a larger whole, which had not received them—the Universal Church. But we saw in the decrees of that Council much (as the decrees on original sin and on justification) which, without any explanations, and other portions which, with explanations, agreed with our inherited faith. This was not private judgment ; it was sight. As to those points which we did not or do not receive, except in a certain sense, we did not or do not receive them otherwise, because they would have been at variance with our inherited faith, which, of course, we believe to have come to us grounded in Scripture and guarded by tradition. But then we believe that the Roman Church could explain those statements in a way which would not contradict our faith, or impose upon us terms inconsistent with our convictions, which have been inworked into our souls.

Plainly, neither the Greek nor the English

Church, while yet un-united with the Roman Church, can receive the Council of Trent, "because of its authority," inasmuch as its authority rests on the claim of the Roman Church to be alone the Church; and to own this would, either on the part of the great Eastern Church or ourselves, be to own ourselves to be no part of the Body of Christ. On this principle, when intercommunion had once been broken or suspended, re-union would be impossible or wrong, except by the absolute submission of that part of the Church which was not in communion with Rome to that portion which was. But we need be under no uncertainty whether the explanations which we propose would be accepted. We may have a moral conviction that Rome could accede, and, in charity, could not help acceding to the explanations which we desire. For if accredited writers among you have laid down that such and such statements are *not* "de fide," and that which is "de fide" is this or that only; and if they have held out these statements as grounds why individuals should not hesitate to join the Roman Church, then both truth and charity require that the Roman Church should accept from a whole body or from a Church, as terms of reunion, the same professions of faith which they stated to be adequate in the case of individuals. It was declared for the first time at the Council of Florence, that the term διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ had the same theological meaning as the

"Filioque;" but there was a moral certainty beforehand, that it could be so pronounced; else the meeting of East and West in that Council would have been hopeless from the first.

In regard to our own people, I believe that their very prejudices against what they call "Popery" may be a help towards reunion hereafter, on this ground; that the English, like all other honest, generous natures, is very capable of reaction when it has found itself unjust. On some such ground the Roman Catholics of old calculated on a certain number of conversions whenever there had been strong declamation against them in a public controversy, and they had a right of answering. For, seeing that they were unjustly accused in this or that, it was supposed that they were so in the rest also. This has occurred ofttimes in those brought up in strong anti-Roman teaching: the reaction, when they found so much which they had been taught as to Roman Catholics to be untrue, carried them, without further inquiry, into the Roman Church.

Now, I suppose that the most common dread among us, in case of union with Rome, is, that we should be involved in a belief in justification, which would, in some way, substitute or associate our own works for or with the merits of Christ; in idolatry, not only in the cultus of the Blessed Virgin or of the saints, but in that of images, or in the Adoration in the Holy Eucharist, as being,

they suppose, an adoration of the Eucharistic symbols; or in a belief in an Eucharistic sacrifice, which should in some way interfere with and obscure the One meritorious Sacrifice on the Cross; or in a belief that sin might be remitted by absolution, though unrepented or half-repented of, or, as some imagine, even future; or in a Purgatorial fire, the same or like that of hell, in which the departed suffer torments unutterable without any consolation; or in indulgences, which should be a great interference with God's judgments in the unseen world, taught for the sake of gain; or that *human* traditions should interfere with the supreme authority of God's Word; or that we should be arbitrarily forbidden the use of Holy Scripture, or the gift of the Cup, or the use of prayers in a language which we understand; or people dread certain moral evils which they apprehend from a constrained celibacy of the Priesthood, or some interference with Christian liberty from an arbitrary, boundless authority of the Pope; or, perhaps, some interference with the due authority of a Christian Sovereign in matters temporal.

For, to our practical English minds, they are practical evils, real or apprehended, which press upon us; we view things, not so much in themselves, as in their bearing upon something else which is sacred or dear to us. And of these real or supposed evils, it is plainly of no use to attempt to remove some few. People are inured to their

present evils; and it is, in itself, a right feeling which would endure whatever, in God's Providence, lie upon us, rather than risk entailing others by any choice of our own.

Now of these difficulties it is hopeful as well as instructive to see, how easily some of those, which to some of our people have seemed the most difficult, were composed between Molanus and Bossuet.

a) The Eucharistic Sacrifice Molanus placed as first in the class of those which were "verbal controversies."

"[a] Is the Sacrament of the Altar, or the Eucharist, a sacrifice? To decide which, it is to be noted that it is not a question between us and the Roman Catholics, whether the Eucharist can be called a sacrifice, which is granted on both sides; but whether it is a sacrifice, properly so called, or no; which controversy (as is clear from the term) turns on the mode of speaking, since each party pre-supposes, as the foundation of its judgment, its own definition of 'sacrifice.' To the Protestants, nay, to Cardinal Bellarmine himself, 'a sacrifice is properly called of a living thing,' according to the language of the Old Testament (from which the doctrine of sacrifices is naturally to be sought), 'when an animal or animate substance is destroyed to the honour of God, by Divine precept;' in which sense the Roman Church simply denies that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, being, as well as we, most rightly persuaded that a sacrifice in that sense cannot be completed without a fresh shedding of blood and a fresh slaying; in one, and that an Ecclesiastical, word, that it is an 'unbloody sacrifice.' So far is it from wishing to define, according to our and Bellarmine's definition, that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, properly and strictly so called. But when the Roman Church calls the Eucharist a sacrifice properly so called, they then take the word either in opposition

[a] Cogit. de Meth. Reunionis, &c., in Bossuet, xxv. 276—279.

to sacrifices yet less properly so called, as of the lips, heart, hostiæ[4], loud crying, &c., or having regard to the material substance of the Sacrifice properly so called, viz. that in the Eucharist that same identical Sacrifice which was given for us, that same identical Blood which was shed for us, is really, yea, most really, made present, and is, not by faith only, but by the mouth of the body—not indeed in a carnal and Capharnaitic way, yet properly,—eaten and drunken, and so, on this ground alone, the Sacrament of the Altar deserves to be called a Sacrifice properly so called. According to this definition on the Roman side, the Protestants could grant that the Eucharist is a sacrifice properly so called. Whence it is clearer than noonday, that this controversy is not as to the thing itself, but of words only; and that in it the parties are agreed, 'that Christ is not anew slain in the Eucharist, but is present and His Body is really eaten, and thereby a memorial or representation is instituted of the Sacrifice once offered for us on the Cross, and in this way not to be repeated;' and that, according to the different acceptance of the term it is so called [a sacrifice] properly or improperly. Well says Matthew Galen, a Catholic writer (Catech. xiii. p. 422, ed. Leyden), 'We might confess that our sacrifice is not indeed a sacrifice properly and strictly so called, but that it altogether deserves the name of a sacrifice, because it is an imitation or representation of that first Sacrifice which Jesus Christ offered to His Father.' I will add, ex abundanti, but without prejudice to any one and saving the judgment of more learned men, since the holy fathers generally, and among them Cyril of Jerusalem, did not hesitate to call the Eucharist '[5]a most true and singular Sacrifice,' S. Cyprian, '[6]a sacrifice full of God, venerable, awful, and all-holy,' it

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[4] This looks like a misprint, since mention of "the host" has no place here. It is omitted in Bossuet's translation. Ib. 326.

[5] "Catech. xxiii." S. Cyril's words are, "The spiritual sacrifice, the bloodless service upon that sacrifice of propitiation." Ib. n. 8, p. 275, Oxf. Tr.

[6] "Ep. 63." Often as S. Cyprian speaks of Eucharistic sacrifice, he does not happen to use the epithets alleged.

would, perhaps, be granted further, that the Eucharist is not only a sacrifice, commemorative of that Bloody Sacrifice whereby Christ once offered Himself on the Cross for us to God the Father, and, in this sense, according to the definition of the Protestants, is a sacrifice improperly so called, but is also an incomprehensible oblation of the Body of Christ, once delivered to death for us, and, in this sense is a true, or (if you prefer so to speak) in a certain way a sacrifice properly so called. Gregory of Nyssa says expressly (de Res. Christi Orat. i.), 'By a secret kind of sacrifice, invisible to man, He offers Himself a Sacrifice for us, and immolates a Victim, being at once a Priest and the Lamb of God Who taketh away the sins of the world. When did He this? When He gave His Body to His assembled disciples to be eaten and His Blood to be drunk; then He openly declared that the sacrifice of the Lamb was already perfect; for the body of the victim is not fit to eat, if it be animate; wherefore, when He gave His Body to be eaten and His Blood to be drunk by His disciples, the Body was already immolated in a secret and invisible manner, as it should please the power of Him Who completed the sacrifice for a mystery of Himself[7]. S. Irenæus[8], 'The oblation of the Church, which the Lord taught to be offered in the whole world, is accounted a pure sacrifice by God and accepted by Him. But there were oblations there too, oblations also here too, sacrifices in the people, in the Church; but the species alone was changed; since it is offered no longer by servants, but by the free.'

"S. Augustine, '[9] In place of all the sacrifices and oblations' of the Old Testament, 'now in the New Testament His Body is offered and is administered to communicants.'

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[7] I have translated the Latin of Molanus, which is accurate enough, in order to preserve the statement of Molanus exactly as it was sent to Bossuet. The passage is translated in my "Doctrine of Real Presence," pp. 634, 638.

[8] iv. 34 [18. n. 1, 2].

[9] De Civ. Dei, xvii. 20 [T. vii. p. 484].

"The second Council of Nice, '[1] Never did the Lord or the Apostles call the unbloody sacrifice an image, but His very Body, His very Blood.'

"Nicolas Cabasilas, in the Exposition of the Liturgy, '[2] It is not a figure of a sacrifice or image of blood, but truly a slaying and a sacrifice.'

"If the Protestants shall decide, for the future, so to speak of the Sacrifice with the holy Fathers, I see nothing besides which can thus far any more hinder peace."

Bossuet's brief answer is,—

"[3] Is the Eucharist a sacrifice? If the other Protestants agree with this learned man, we think the matter concluded."

In his earlier negotiations with the French Calvinist, M. Ferry, it was equally agreed that, granting the doctrine of the Real Presence, there was no further difficulty in regard to the Sacrifice of the Eucharist. I will set down first Bossuet's "further explanation," because it meets most distinctly the ordinary objections to the doctrine.

"[4] The essence of the Sacrifice of the Eucharist consists precisely in the consecration, whereby, in virtue of the words of Jesus Christ, His Body and precious Blood are placed really on the holy Table, mystically separated under the species of bread and wine. By this action taken precisely, and without any thing added by the priest, Jesus Christ is really

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[1] Act. 6. [2] c. 32.

[3] De Scripto, cui tit. Cogit. priv. de Meth. Re-un., &c. Ib. p. 375.

[4] Nouvelle explication donnée par l'Abbé Bossuet au ministre Ferry, sur le sacrifice de l'Eucharistie. Bossuet, t. xxv. pp. 112—114.

offered to His Father, inasmuch as His Body and His Blood are placed before Him, actually clothed with the signs representing His Death."

"As this consecration is done in the Name, in the Person, and through the words of Jesus Christ, it is He in truth Who both consecrates and offers, and the priests are only simple ministers.

"The prayer which accompanies the consecration, whereby the Church declares that she offers Jesus Christ to God by those words 'offerimus' and the like, does not belong to the essence of the Sacrifice, which can absolutely subsist without that prayer.

"The Church only explains, by this prayer, that she unites herself to Jesus Christ, Who continues to offer Himself for her, and that she offers herself to God, with Him; and herein the priest does nothing especial, which the whole people does not do conjointly; with this only difference, that the priest does it as public minister, and in the name of the whole Church.

"This being well understood, it appears that this real oblation of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ is a consequence of the doctrine of the Real Presence [la réalité], and that the Church is not to be asked to produce any other commission to 'offer' than that which is given her to consecrate, since the oblation in its essence consists in the consecration itself.

"I say no more of the relation of this oblation to that of the Cross, because I think that I have sufficiently explained it in my former writing. Only it is necessary to avoid any ambiguity as to the word 'offer,' as was remarked, and to be quite assured that one cannot depart more from the intention of the Church, than by believing that she seeks in the Sacrifice of the Eucharist any thing to supplement any defect in the Sacrifice of the Cross, which she knows to be of an infinite merit perfection and virtue, so that all which is done subsequently tends only to apply it to us.

"When the Catholic Church uses these words 'we offer,' and the like, in her liturgy, and by these words offers Jesus Christ, present on the holy table, to His Father, she does not mean

by this oblation to present to God, or to make to Him a new payment of the Price of her salvation, but only to employ the merits and intercession of Jesus Christ with Him, and the Price which He has once paid for us on the Cross."

Bossuet entered more into the positive benefits of the Eucharistic sacrifice in his first explanation, the chief objects of the second having been to remove every objection ordinarily raised against the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and this, by direct denial of what was alleged.

"We believe that, by the words ['This is My Body; this is My Blood;'] not only does Jesus Christ place Himself actually on the holy table, but that He places Himself, clothed with signs representative of His Death. This shows us that His intention was to place Himself there as slain; and it is on this ground we say that this table is also an altar.

"We believe that this action, whereby the Son of God is placed upon the holy table under signs representative of His Death, viz., the consecration, carries with it the recognition of the high sovereignty of God, in that Jesus Christ, present, renews in them the memory of His obedience even to the Death of the Cross, and in some sort perpetuates it.

"We believe, also, that this same action makes God propitious to us, because it sets before His Eyes the voluntary Death of His Son for sinners, or rather, His Son, clothed, as was said, with the signs representative of that Death whereby He has been appeased.

"On this ground we say that Jesus Christ still offers Himself in the Eucharist; for having once given Himself for us to be our Victim, He does not cease to present Himself to His Father, as the Apostle says that 'He appears before God for us.'

"There should be no dispute about the word. If by 'offer' is meant the oblation made through the death of the Victim, it is true that Jesus Christ offers Himself no more. But He

offers Himself in that He appears for us, presents Himself for us to God, sets before His Eyes His Death and obedience, as is here explained.

"We believe, then, that His Presence on the holy altar, in this figure of death, is a continual oblation which He makes of Himself, of His Death and His merits, for the human race. We unite ourselves to Him in this condition, and we offer Him as He offers Himself, protesting that we have nothing to present to God but His Son and His merits. So that, seeing Him by faith present on the altar, we present Him to God as our only Propitiation through His Blood; and at the same time we offer ourselves with Him, as living sacrifices, to the Divine Majesty.

"It is not good reasoning to say, that the Oblation of the Cross is not sufficient, supposing that Jesus Christ still offers Himself in the Eucharist, any more than it would be to say that, because He continues to intercede for us in heaven, His Intercession on the Cross was imperfect and insufficient for our salvation.

"All this, then, does not prevent its being very true that Jesus Christ offered Himself once only; because, although, as the Apostle says, when He came into the world He offered Himself to be a Sacrifice for us, although we believe that He ceases not to present Himself for us to God, not only in Heaven, but also on the holy table, still all refers to that great Oblation, whereby He offered Himself once upon the Cross, to be put in our place, and to suffer the death which was due to us. And we know that the whole merit of our redemption is in such wise attached to this great Sacrifice of the Cross, that there is nothing left for us to do in that of the Eucharist, than to celebrate its memory and to apply to us its virtue.

"Moreover, let us not think that the Victim, which we present in the Eucharist, is to be there in truth anew destroyed; because the Son of God has once most abundantly satisfied this obligation by the Sacrifice of the Cross, as S. Paul the Apostle proves divinely in his Epistle to the Hebrews. In such wise that, the sacrifice of the Eucharist being established in commemoration, we ought to seek therein only a mystical death and destruction, wherein the effectual Death, which the Son of God once suffered for us, is represented.

"Such is the sacrifice of the Church, a spiritual sacrifice, where the Blood is shed in mystery only, where death intervenes only in mystery; still a very true sacrifice, in that Jesus Christ, Who is the Victim, is really contained there under this figure of death; but a commemorative sacrifice, which subsists only through its relation to the Sacrifice of the Cross, and derives therein all its virtue.

b) The second instance of "questions of words" in Molanus is,—

"[6] The question is raised between Roman Catholics and Protestants, 'Whether to the validity of the sacrament the intention of the minister is required?' The Tridentines enjoin the affirmative under anathema, whom the Protestants, from the beginning till now, vehemently contradicted. In my poor opinion, the strife would be composed, if the terms were rightly explained, and the controversy rightly put. I say then with Becanus, that the intention of the minister as to the sacrament may be threefold: 1) of uttering the words of institution and doing the outward action. 2) The intention of making the sacrament, or at least a confused intention of doing what the Church either does or intends. This intention Becanus says rightly, is either *actual*, when any one, making the sacrament, at that time actually thinks of making the sacrament; or *habitual*, i. e. a readiness to make the sacrament, gained by frequent acts, such as even one asleep may have; a third *virtual*, when the *actual* intention, through the distraction of the understanding, *is* not present; but it *was* present, and in virtue thereof the work takes place. 3) The intention of conferring the fruit or the effect of the sacrament. Becanus concludes, that between us and the Romans there is no question of the third kind of intention, but of the two first; and from these things presupposed the aforesaid Jesuit rightly concludes,—

"1) To the validity of the sacrament habitual intention sufficeth not, and actual is not of necessity required; but in the minister there is required, or at least sufficeth, a virtual

[6] Ib. pp. 279—281.

intention of doing not only the outward act, but of making the sacrament, or at least confusedly of doing what the Church doth; and—

"2) To the validity of the sacrament there is not required an express intention of conferring the fruit and effect of the sacrament: which thing being thus explained, it is clear that the controversy was not about the thing itself, but only of the word; and that the Protestants, when denying the [necessity of the] intention of the minister to the validity of the sacrament, had in view the intention of conferring the fruit and effect, which the Roman Catholics, according to the doctrine of Becanus, with us deny to be required; but that these, when they require the intention of the minister to the validity of the sacraments, spake of the intention, virtual at least, if not actual, of doing the external act, or of doing what in such case the Church doth. Which intention the Protestants will with both hands grant to the Roman Church to be requisite."

Bossuet saith on this,—

"[6] This controversy not only can be easily composed, but is already composed; since it is a most common opinion among Catholics that the intention, which is necessary to the validity of the sacrament, consists herein, that the minister wills to perform seriously the outward acts prescribed by the Church, and not to do any thing which betrays a contrary intention, which intention he himself too could not make void by any secret intention whatever. But Card. Pallavicini, in his history of the Council of Trent, and others, attest that the sacred Council did not will to define any thing more. As to the distinction of actual, virtual, habitual intention, which the learned author approves, there is no controversy."

We both remember how the doctrine, supposed to be contained by the words, was urged "ad invidiam" against Roman sacraments, as if it would render all administration of the Sacraments precarious, since God only can know the hearts of

[6] Ib. n. 21, p. 375.

men. I know not how long it has been turned against our English ordinations. It may aid, then, to diminish contention, to give Pallavicini's statements.

I would only premise, for the sake of others, that it is observed that the Council of Trent said no more hereon than had been defined by Eugenius IV. in the decree for the Arminians after the Council of Florence [7]. Catharinus, who held his opinion to be consistent with the Council of Florence, could not but hold it to be consistent with that of Trent.

Pallavicini's statement is [8], that the article condemned was that of Luther, who made sacraments only signs to faith. "Whatever we believe that we shall receive, we truly receive, whatever the minister does or does not do, whether he feign or jest."

He adds,—

"The words of the article set forth for censure are these: 'that the intention of the minister is not needed to the validity of the sacraments.' But some of the theologians

[7] The decree of Eugenius IV. was, "All these sacraments are perfected by three things; the things as matter, the words as form, and the person of the minister conferring the sacrament, with the intention of doing what the Church does" (the whole section is taken from the opusculum of S. Thomas Aquinas, De Sacramentis, note ad marg. Conc. Flor., t. 18. p. 546, ed. Col.). That of Trent, "If any one say that in ministers, when they make and confer the sacraments, there is not required the intention at least of doing what the Church does, let him be anathema" (Sess. 7, Can. xi. de Sacram.).

[8] L. ix. c. 6, n. 3.

held that this was not to be condemned without some addition, since there are many opinions abroad as to such intention, and especially since very many thought that it sufficed, if the minister intends to execute that which the Church intends to do; and others commonly said that it was already proscribed in the Council of Florence; and Scripand affirmed that it was to be condemned, because it was taken in the sense of Luther, who ascribes every thing to the sole faith of the receiver of the sacrament, and nothing to the sacrament, and so, likewise, nothing to the minister who confers the sacrament, which contradicts the Catholic dogma; but that it was to be left to the discussions of theologians, of what sort the will of the minister was to be, that he should make and truly confer the sacrament. Hence it is plain that nothing was decreed in the Council, to what the will of the minister was to tend, but only that that intention was required, whereby he should be indeed an effectuator of the sacrament, and a dispenser of the grace imparted through it: This being laid down, those Doctors mean that, so that the minister takes care to do the external action in that way in which he should do it if he intended to impress the effect of the sacrament, and should so, in fact, perform it, an inner opposed will in no way hinders the efficacy of the sacrament."

Pallavicini also notices that Catharin[9] follows

[9] "I think the opinion of Catharin false, yet not, therefore, expressly condemned by the Council of Trent, so that he could say that it did not contradict the Council; for he followed two eminent writers of his Order, Peter de Palude, who showed much propensity to that opinion, and Silvestre de Prierio, whom we have already mentioned, who likewise approved of it after the Council of Florence. Nay, there are some who ascribe the same opinion to S. Thomas in two places [Vazquez thinks, rightly (Disp. 138, c. 4), Suarez, that he cannot have meant it, because it is wrong (T. iii., Disp. xii., art. 8, p. 142,)] and in these last days M. Scribonius, a Gallican doctor, endeavoured to maintain it, by many arguments, in the Panalethea (1620)." Ib.

the opinion of some before him, and that the Legates interfered to check what was said by the Master of the Sacred Palace against him.

"Whence it is made out, that the opinions defended by Catharin were no objects of suspicion to the fathers, nor had they any intention to proscribe them. Had it been so, they would never have had him promoted to the Episcopate by common acclamation, nor would the then legate, afterwards Sovereign Pontiff, have advanced him to a higher Episcopate. It is certain that that which was proscribed at Trent was what Leo X., by his Constitution, condemned in Luther, viz., that the sacrament was so instituted by Christ, that, although the minister perform it in manifest mockery and jest, it would obtain its effect; an institution, of which it is most evident how alien it is from the dignity of the Church, the mind of the faithful, and the condition upon which all other acts are done by men. But the Catholic Doctors, whom we have enumerated, agree in requiring, for the efficacy of the sacraments, the will, not only to do that outward act, physically considered, which the Church enacts (for this will exists alike in the man who administers a sacrament in jest), but the will of exercising that act through that external ceremony of a man acting seriously, which the Church uses, and the visible appearance of a man directing to the intent to which the Church directs it."

I have taken purposely low ground, for I think it narrows one topic of controversy as to our Orders. It was with this view that I meant to draw attention to the fact that the consecrators of Parker were anxious to adhere to the ancient forms. The process of Confirmation they took from the account of the Confirmation of a Bishop or Bishops in the time of Archbishop Chichele, when, the intercourse with Rome being interrupted, they had to fall back upon ancient pre-

cedents. The words of consecration they translated from the Exeter Pontifical, "Take the Holy Ghost." They intended, apparently, to guard themselves against any objections which might be raised, in that all four consecrating Bishops imposed hands, all four used the words. Surely this care to do what the Church had done is, in itself, evidence enough of the intention required!

Pallavicini himself held the stricter opinion, and points out that the difficulties which Paolo Sarpi alleged, extended, in truth, much wider, and that all alike were to be met by a trust in the superintending and overruling mercy of God.

"[1] I wish he would answer whether there would not be the same stumbling-block, howsoever it be conceded, that there is no need of such intention of the minister. And first, in all confessions, what is easier for the priest, than that, while absolving in a low voice, he should omit some little word necessary to the sacrament, and so should render that sacred action null, so that countless men, while believing that God was reconciled to them, should continue under the yoke of the devil? Could not village priests, at their fancy, do the same in conferring Baptism, where none of the peasants know what is the necessary form? And herefrom, that something is void in the administration of such Baptism, seeing it is the door of all other sacraments, might arise that avoidance of many receptions of Holy Orders, and so of countless consecrations and absolutions, so long as the world should last. Wherefore, in the case of each opinion alike, we must flee to the Providence of God, which either so rules the hearts of men as to keep off these inconveniences (and that the more, since no stimulus of present advantage incites any one to perpetrate such a sacri-

[1] L. c. p. 11.

lege, and no one loves guilt without some dowry of utility), or by His own special indulgence remedies the secret defects of the action; and, in brief, so orders things that the Church should not be defrauded of these singular antidotes formed by His precious Blood."

Certainly Catharin followed high authority, since Pope Nicolas (as he alleged) formally laid down, that those who had been, in numbers, baptized by a Jew, of whose conversion nothing was known certainly, were not to be re-baptized[2]; for, however the Jew may have intended (on whatever ground) to baptize, he could not have intended to confer the effect of the sacrament, of which, if a Jew, he believed nothing. The authority of S. Thomas Aquinas is the weightier, because they are his words which were adopted by Pope Eugenius, so that he would be the most authen-

[2] "By a certain Jew (whether Christian or Pagan you know not) you assert that many in your country were baptized, and consult what is to be done therein. If they were baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity, or only in the name of Christ, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, for it is one and the same thing, as S. Ambrose expounds it (De Sp. S. i. 3), it is certain that they are not to be again baptized. But first you should inquire whether the Jew himself was a Christian or a Pagan, or whether he was afterwards made a Christian, although we believe that that is not to be overlooked, which S. Augustine says of Baptism, 'We have sufficiently shown that to Baptism, which is consecrated by the words of the Gospel, the error of any one giving or receiving it, appertaineth not, whether it be as to the Father, Son, or Holy Ghost, that he thinketh otherwise than the heavenly doctrine suggests.'" Resp. ad. Bulg. c. 104, Concil. ix. 1566, Col.

tic expositor of his own words. But Vazquez says,—

"[3] In the second solution, which he himself employs and in which he seems to acquiesce, he approves the sentiment of those who say, that in Baptism and in other sacraments which have in the form an act exercised, an interior intention is not required, but an expression of the intention through the words instituted sufficeth, provided that nothing is added repugnant to the words. But the argument was, that if any other intention were required, no one but the minister himself would be certain as to a true sacrament being received. But here he [S. Th. Aq.] proposes the same argument in the second place, and answers in the same two ways as in the fourth (book on the Sentences) and seems plainly to employ as his own the second solution, which is altogether the same as that which we have given; for in both places he refutes the other."

Vazquez's third corollary is,—

"[4] There may, in any heretic and infidel, who believes no mystery, be this intention of doing what the Church does, as has been by us explained. For, as we showed in the preceding disputation (c. 2), the substance of the sacrament does not depend on the faith of the minister. Then, too, since, although any one think that which the Church does is false and of no moment, he can will to administer and do it, as a ceremony of the Church, whatever may follow from it (for the intention of the effect of the sacrament does not appertain to the nature of the sacrament); so, although the minister think that the sacrament is of no effect, he can administer it with *that* intention, which we said to be necessary. And although an Arian does not believe the mystery of the Trinity true (as the heathen also does not believe it), yet if he pronounce the words of the form which the Church uses, with that general intention of doing what

[3] Disp. 138, c. 2, pp. 327, 328.

[4] Disp. 138, c. 5, fin.

the Church does, he will make the sacrament. For, as he who knows not what is signified by those words, if he utter them with the aforesaid intention, makes the sacrament, so also he who does not believe what is signified by those words, may have that intention generally, and make the sacrament, although in act he believes the contrary, because that intention may exist with the opposite error[5]."

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[5] S. Th. Aq. is answering the objection to the doctrine of intention, "The intention of a man is certain to no one but himself. If then intention is required to Baptism, it will not be certain to any one that he is baptized, except to him who baptized him; and this is inconvenient, that a man should be in so great doubt of salvation." S. Th. says, "On this second point it is to be said, that to this a twofold answer is given according to different opinions. For some say, that if the mental intention be wanting in the baptizer, he does not bestow the sacrament of Baptism; yet that, in an adult, faith and devotion supplies the effect of Baptism, so that no peril should thence accrue to the baptized who is ignorant of the intention of the baptizer. But if it be a child, it is piously believed that the supreme priest, i. e. God, supplies the defect, and confers salvation on him; but if not, He does not unjustly, as neither to him who is not made a subject of the sacrament. Others say that in Baptism and other sacraments, which have in the form an act exercised, a mental intention is not required, but the expression of the intention by the words instituted by the Church sufficeth; and therefore that, if the form is preserved, and nothing is said outwardly which should express a contrary intention, he is baptized. For not without cause in sacraments of necessity, as Baptism and some others, the act of the baptizer is so carefully expressed for the expression of the intention" (iv. Dist. 6, q. 1, art. 2, q. 1, ad 2). In the Summa he more distinctly adopts the second explanation against the first. "Some say that a mental intention is required in the minister, which if it be lacking, the sacrament is not perfected; but that in children (who have not the intention of coming to the

To return to Molanus. On the doctrine of justification, I have for very many years felt and taught that we hold nothing which you do not equally hold. Molanus thought the same, even as to Lutheranism.

"[6] It is known, what a tumult was raised in the Church by our Luther's introducing into Holy Scripture that proposition, 'Faith only justifies,' whereas it is not even right, and the thing itself could have been taught by other phrases taken out of Scripture and received in the Church. For we are justified, as Scripture teacheth, 'from (ex) faith,' 'through faith.' But properly it is not faith, but God Who justifies us. But God has, of this His justification, one impelling cause, viz. His internal grace and mercy, and one chief outward principal cause, the merit of Christ, and one outward less principal impelling cause, viz. faith. When then it is said, 'faith justifies,' the meaning of this proposition is, on the part of man faith is the less principal outward impelling cause, moving God to our justi-

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sacrament) Christ, Who baptizes within, supplies this defect; but in adults, who intend to receive the sacrament, faith and devotion supply the defect. But this could be said, as relates to the ultimate effect, which is justification from sin; but as to the effect, which is the res and the sacrament, viz. as relates to the 'character,' it does not seem that it can be supplied through the devotion of the person coming to it, because the character is never impressed except through the sacrament; and therefore others say better, that the minister of the sacrament acts in the person of the whole Church, of which he is a minister. But in the words which he utters, the intention of the Church is expressed, which suffices to the perfection of the sacrament, unless the contrary is expressed outwardly on the part of the minister or the receiver of the sacrament." P. 3, q. 64, art. 8. ad 2.

[6] Ib. pp. 285—287.

fication. But whether in this sense faith alone justifies, is the question between the parties. I believe, that if we say that by the word 'alone' the other impelling causes of justification are not excluded, viz. the grace of God and the merit of Christ; if, moreover, we say that the word 'alone' is not taken for 'solitary,' viz. for a faith which is dead or destitute of good works, or at least of the purpose of doing well, I believe that the controversy will be in great measure composed. For the meaning thereof will come to this; on the part of God, grace and the merits of Christ are the impelling causes of our justification; but on the part of man, not hope, not charity, or any other good works do proximately and immediately bring justification; but, in this sense,—faith 'alone' yet not 'solitary,' in that it 'worketh by love,' is the outward impelling cause of our justification, viz. that faith, whereby one believes that Christ, by suffering and dying for his sins and for those of the whole world, made a most full satisfaction, with the confidence of obtaining grace and forgiveness of sins from God for the sake of His satisfaction,—that faith, moreover, not being dead, but living, putting itself forth by love, and, when occasion of working is given, working in act."

Bossuet's brief remark is,—

"[7] Of the mercy of God and of the Merits of Christ there is no doubt that they truly justify us. But that faith justifies, not naked, nor 'alone or solitary and destitute of the purpose of acting well,' when the Lutherans shall, with the excellent author, agree, they would entirely satisfy Catholics."

As a good deal of popular objection lies within the subject of justification and the articles connected therewith, though I need hardly say that we are not Lutherans, it may, I think, help to dispel prejudice, to set down Bossuet's "Declara-

[7] Ib. n. 23, p. 377.

tion of Orthodox Faith" hereon, "which," he says, "the Defenders of the Confession of Augsburg could offer to the Roman Pontiff[8]."

Art. I. *That justification is a free gift, or gratis.*

"On this Article there is no difficulty. For the sum of our hope and justification is this: '[9] Him Who knew not sin, He made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him;' nor could any other be a Victim acceptable to the Lord, or a Sacrifice for sins, except the Word made flesh; for, as the Apostle had said, '[10] God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their transgressions.' For He doth not impute, Who not only forgives freely, but also gives righteousness and holiness.

"Nor does the Council of Trent deny that the Righteousness of Christ is imputed to us, or that this imputation is necessary to justification; but it denies this only: 'that men are justified by the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, *excluding grace*[11],' whereby He makes us inwardly righteous through the Holy Ghost, 'shedding love abroad in our hearts.' Yea, the same Council declares, that the merits of Christ are ours through faith, and are not only imputed to us, but are also applied and *communicated* to us[1]; by which communication not only are our sins taken away, but the righteousness, transmitted from Christ, is infused. This, then, is the justification of the new man.

"Nor does the Confession of Augsburg depart from this meaning; for it praises S. Augustine[2], who thus interprets the Apostle's words, 'Who justifieth the ungodly,' i. e. Who from being unjust maketh him just.

"Augustine's whole mind, indeed, is in this, '[3] We read that those are justified in Christ who believe in Him, on account of the large communication and inspiration of spiritual

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[8] Œuvres, xxv. 415. [9] 2 Cor. v. 21.
[10] Ib. 19. [11] Sess. vi. Can. 2. [1] Ib. cap. iii. vii.
[2] Cap. de bonis op. [3] De pecc. rem. i. 10. n. 11. Opp. x. 7.

grace;' nor doth the Apostle himself speak otherwise, who ascribes justification to the Holy Spirit regenerating and renewing within [4], under Whose guidance the Council of Milevis (which this eminent man counts among the authentic Councils) teaches, that 'in infants *that* is cleansed by regeneration which they derived by generation [5],' where it clearly attributes remission of sins to regeneration. But what it is, to be justified, the same Synod of Milevis teacheth [6]; nor needeth justification to be separated from regeneration and sanctification, which the Lutherans too in the 'formula Concordiæ' attest [7], are often confounded in the Apology. Certainly the Apology, up and down, ascribes justification not to a mere outward imputation, but to the Holy Spirit working within [8]. Yet we object not to their mentally separating in idea sanctification or regeneration and justification, though, indeed, inseparable, although we like not that the gravity of Christian doctrine and grace should be brought down to these minute subtleties, which were moreover unknown in those old centuries.

"But this is the chief point of this article, 'that we are justified freely, because none of those things which precede justification, whether faith or works, merit the grace of justification itself. "For if it is grace, then it is not of works; otherwise grace is no more grace."' The holy Synod proceeds, 'And therefore it is necessary to believe, that sins neither are or ever were remitted, except freely by the Divine mercy for Christ's sake [9].' So, then, the gravest stumbling-block of the Lutherans is removed, since there is nothing with which they more upbraid Catholics, than that they believe that they are justified by their own merits [1]."

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[4] 1 Cor. vi. 11. Tit. iii. 5—7.

[5] Syn. Milev. ii. c. 2. Labb. T. ii. col. 1538.

[6] Ib. c. 5, sq. col. 1539. [7] P. 585. [8] Pp. 68. 70, &c.

[9] Sess. vi. c. 8, 9.

[1] Conf. Aug. c. 20, Apol. C. Aug. c. de justif. et resp. ad obj. pp. 62. 74. 102, 103, as edited by Luther in the Formula of Concord. Bossuet subjoins to this article, "we quote the liber Concordiæ from the Ed. Leipzig, A. 1654."

Art. II. *On works and merits following justification.*

"And yet the deserts of good works after justification are not therefore to be rejected, which doctrine Augustine comprised thus in briefest words. '[2] Are there then no good merits of the just? There are, because they *are* just; but that they should *be* just, merits there were none.' Which doctrine the second Council of Orange attests, saying, '[3] Reward is due to good works, if they are done; but grace, which is not due, precedes, that they should be done.' Nor is the Confession of Augsburg at variance with this faith, since the merit of good works after justification is repeatedly inculcated in it[4]; and it is taught clearly how 'they belong to a true and meritorious service, because they merit rewards both in this life, and, after it, in life eternal;' but especially in this life, they merit the increase of gifts or grace, according to that, 'To him that hath shall more be given;' and Augustine's saying is quoted, 'Love merits increase of love.' Rightly, for we remember this passage, too, of the holy Doctor: '[5] It remains that we understand, that he who loveth hath the Holy Spirit, and, by having, merits that he should have more, and by having more should love more.'

"The Apology also teaches 'of the merits of good works, that they are meritorious, not indeed of remission of sins, of grace, or justification, but of other corporal and spiritual rewards, both in this life and after this life. For,' it says, 'the righteousness of the Gospel, which relates to the promise of grace, receives justification and vivifying gratis; but the fulfilling of the law, which follows after faith, has reference to the law, in which reward is not gratis, but is offered and owed for our works; but those who merit them are justified before they do the law.'

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[2] Ep. 194, ad Sixt. n. 6. T. ii. col. 717.

[3] c. 18. [4] Art. 6. et c. de bon. oper.

[5] Tract. lxxiv. in Joann. n. 2. Bossuet subjoins, "This is what we read in the original Conf. of Augsb. at Wittemberg, A. 1531 or 1532."

"Nor do the Lutherans deny, that the faithful can merit eternal life itself, at least *as to degrees*, which sufficeth; since in that celebrated disputation at Leipzig, A. 1539, they voluntarily acknowledged this, that eternal life is that very reward so often promised to those who believe. But those merits, so far from excluding grace, presuppose and adorn it; and Augustine excellently saith, 'Life eternal, too, which it is certain is given, as owed, to good works, is yet called "Grace;" and that, not because it is not given to merits, but because the merits to which it is given are themselves given.' And of the increase of grace, 'Grace itself merits to be increased, that being increased, it may merit to be perfected.'

Art. III. *Of the gratuitous promise and of the perfection and acceptance of good works.*

"But however great be the merits of the justified man, yet reward so great would not be owed to them, but for a gratuitous promise, to which belongs the Decree of Trent, recited above.

"[6] That eternal life is to be set forth, both as grace mercifully promised to the sons of God through Jesus Christ, and as a reward coming from (ex) the promise of God Himself, to be rendered to their good deeds and merits. But that forgiveness is ever necessary, and that we have ever need to say, 'Forgive us our trespasses,' the same Synod proclaims: '[7] Do we not need the acceptance of God through Christ?' since the same Council teacheth, '[8] For we, who, from ourselves, as though out of ourselves, can do nothing, can through His co-operation, Who strengtheneth us, do all things. So, then, man hath not, whereof to glory, but all our glorying is in Christ, in Whom we merit, in Whom we satisfy, doing worthy fruits of penitence, which have their efficacy from Him, by Him are offered to the Father, through Him are accepted by the Father.'

"To this should be added from Sess. vi. c. xvi.: 'God forbid

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[6] Sess. vi. c. xvi., quoted by Bossuet. Ib. n. 12, p. 366, referred to here.

[7] Ib. c. xi. Can. xiii.

[8] Sess. xiv. c. viii.

that a Christian man should either trust or glory in himself, and not in the Lord, Whose goodness towards all men is so great, that He wills that what are His gifts should be their merits.' Thus pride is not only beaten back, but is even uprooted, and the Apostle's saying holds altogether, '[9] Who maketh thee to differ? What hast thou that thou hast not received?' Certainly thou hast received merits; 'But if thou have received, why dost thou glory, as though thou hadst not received?'

"We mention the Decrees of Trent, not to expend toil in collecting the judgments of single Doctors, when we have testimonies from the public declaration of faith itself."

Art. IV. *Of the fulfilling of the law.*

"On the fulfilling of the law, we understood before[1], that there is no difficulty. Nor did the Confession of Augsburg or its Apology ever deny this, as is clear from the chapter 'on love and the fulfilling of the law;' else they would have denied

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[9] 1 Cor. iv. 7.

[1] Molanus had proposed, as satisfactory to both parties, the words of F. Denys in his 'Via Pacis,' p. 377. "On the possibility of keeping the law there is no difference (between Catholics and Protestants) as to the thing itself, and according to truth. For Protestants teach that a man, righteous through inherent righteousness, can, with the aid of Divine grace, so far keep and fulfil the commandments of God, as not to lose His grace and friendship, nor consummate the sin, to which he is inclined by concupiscence; yet not so perfectly and exactly as to be free from all sin, or that he should avoid all venial sins. Catholics equally acknowledge our indebtedness to keep the commandments of God, without any sin; but that this, in a whole life, or for a long time, apart from some special privilege, is impossible" (in Boss. pp. 289, 290). Bossuet answered (p. 378), "If Protestants admit the judgment of F. Denys in his 'Way of Peace,' there will be no question, save perhaps of words, as I think I have also proved from the Apology of the Confession of Augsburg (in his Hist. de Variet. L. iii. n. 30), so that there is no difficulty thereon."

the Apostle himself, too, when saying, '[2] Love is the fulfilling of the law.' But this love lives in the hearts of the faithful, not indeed so far that there should be no sin altogether in us, but certainly so far, that it should not reign in us, the same Apostle teaches more clearly than that any Christian can deny it. Our righteousness may then be true and in its measure, yet not absolutely perfect and without sin. Lastly, in the righteous and faithful cupidity so fights, that charity prevails; and if all sins are not absent, yet those are, of which John says, '[3] Every one who abideth in Him, sinneth not;' and Paul, '[4] They who do those things, shall not inherit the kingdom of God.' But of those sins, without which no one lives here, excellent is that of S. Augustine: '[5] He who neglects not to cleanse them by works of mercy and piety, shall merit to depart hence without sin, although, while he lived here, he had some sins; because, as they were not wanting, so neither were the remedies, whereby they should be cleansed.' "

Art. V. *Of merits, which they call* ex condigno.

" Of the condignity of merits be no mention made, if it is so wished, as none is made in the Council of Trent, although what is meant thereby, if rightly understood, has no difficulty, yet in order to avoid ambiguous words, which will offend some. But let us remember, as the Council of Trent admonishes [6], that the Apostle's words, '[7] light and momentary,' appertain to the righteousness of this present life, but the 'above measure exceeding eternal weight of glory,' according to the same Apostle, refers to the future reward. Nor let us ever forget, that all our merits and their reward hang upon a gratuitous promise, and that no works of ours are of any avail by themselves, but unceasingly need the influx and intervention of Christ our Head, that they should *be* at all, that they should persevere, that they should be offered to God, that they be accepted by God, as we have just said [8]. Let that, too, be mentioned, if

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[2] Rom. xiii. 10. [3] 1 Ep. iii. 6. 9. [4] 1 Cor. vi. 9.
[5] Ep. 157, n. 3. [6] Sess. vi. c. xvi. [7] 2 Cor. iv. 17.
[8] Art. 3, p. 62.

they think it expedient, that a fuller, yea, a most full and most perfect or strict righteousness could have been exacted from us by God; which right, through the covenant of the New Testament, He voluntarily relinquished for the sake of the merits of Christ. So also that maxim, that worthy satisfaction for sin could have been offered only by a person infinitely worthy, such as was the Only-Begotten God, and that this satisfaction is so accepted by the Good God, as if it had been exhibited by us; which is that 'imputation' which they urge, and we in no way hold back from, as was said above [9]. Nor do we hinder their adding that too, that God cannot, *per se* and of strict right, owe any thing to any one, even the most righteous, much less to a sinner, unless He pledge Himself of His own free-will, and, for His goodness and wisdom, bind Himself to such beneficence. But although these things are most certain, it is perhaps not expedient to go down into such details. But *this* is to be inculcated and preached loudly, in Augustine's words, '[1] that it befits this wretched and needy mortality, that, lest we become proud, we should live under a daily remission of sins,' as was defined by the Council, and we have reported."

Art. VI. *On justifying faith.*

"That faith justifies, and how it justifies, the Apology thus delivers from S. Augustine: '[2] That he says clearly that the Justifier is conciliated through faith, and that justification is obtained through faith,' and soon after he subjoins out of the same Apostle, 'From the law we hope in God, but to those who fear punishment grace is hid; let the soul, when labouring under this fear, flee through faith to the mercy of God, that He may give what He commands.' Behold the force of faith, according to the Apology, that one, trusting in the grace of the Lord Jesus, by Whom, and no other, we must be saved,

[9] Art. 1, p. 59.

[1] c. Ep. Pelag. iv. n. 34.

[2] Apol. cap. "quod remiss. pecc. sola fide," &c., p. 80. Aug. de spir. et lit. c. 29, 30, n. 51, 52.

should call on God, the Author of righteousness, as the Apostle says, '[3] How shall they call on Him, in Whom they have not believed,' and, 'Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved.' Whence the same Augustine saith, '[4] By faith of Jesus Christ we obtain salvation, both as far as it is begun by us in deed, and as far as, in perfecting, it is looked for in hope;' and again, 'Through the law is the knowledge of sin; through faith is the obtaining of grace against sin; through grace is the healing of the soul from the death of sin.' This, then, is the doctrine of Paul, as Augustine, whom the Apology itself cites as his expositor, testifieth.

"Herein is the difference between the righteousness of the law or of works, and Christian righteousness which is the righteousness of faith, that, '[5] following the law of righteousness, they do not attain unto it, because not of faith but of works,' that is, the same Augustine being the interpreter, '[6] working as though from themselves, not believing that God worketh in them;' but those who follow Christian righteousness, believe in Him Who justifies the ungodly, viz. out of that faith whereby we believe that righteousness is given us by God, and does not come to be in us through our own strength,' as the same Augustine teacheth[7].

"Wherein also is another difference between human and moral righteousness, and that, our Divine and Christian righteousness—that, in that moral righteousness, we, by good works and manners obtain, that in a human way we should be righteous; but in this our righteousness obtained by faith, we must be made righteous before we live righteously; whence S. Leo saith, '[8] Neither is any one justified by virtue of his own, because grace is to every one the beginning of righteousness, the fountain of all good, and the origin of merit.' Saint Augustine, too; '[9] For who can live justly, unless he be first justified, and live saintlily, unless he be first sanctified, or

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[3] Rom. x. 13, 14.
[4] l. c.
[5] Rom. ix. 30.
[6] De spir. et lit. n. 50.
[7] Ep. 186, n. 8, Opp. ii. 666.
[8] Epist. 6 (al. 86) ad Aquil. Episc.
[9] In Ps. cix. n. 1. Opp. v. 1228.

live at all, unless he be first made alive, as it is written, '[1] The just shall live by faith'?"

Art. VII. *Of the certainty of justifying faith.*

"But of the certainty of that faith Paul teacheth, '[2] He staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief, but was strong in faith, giving glory to God, and being fully persuaded that, what He had promised He was able also to perform;' which is that most perfect fulness of faith which the same Apostle so often praises. Hence there is generated in minds a certain confidence towards God, '[3] whereby against hope we believe in hope,' and this motion of justifying faith the Council of Trent placeth therein, that the faithful '[4] believe that those things are true which are revealed and promised by God,' and this first of all, that 'the ungodly is justified through His grace, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus;' whence they, being terrified, the judgment of God driving them, 'by His mercy are raised up to hope, trusting that God, for Christ's sake, will be propitious to them, and begin to love Him, as the Fountain of all righteousness,' viz. justifying freely; through which love they detest the sins of their former life. In which words that justifying faith is admirably and fully stated, whereby also, embracing the Divine promises, we wholly lean on God through Christ.

"But this hope and confidence advance so far, that anxious fear should be absent; absent, that turbulent tossing of the trembling soul; and the solace of the Holy Spirit is present within, crying, '[5] Abba, Father,' and suggesting that, '[6] But if sons, then heirs;' whereby '[7] rejoicing in hope,' we trust that we '[8] have now our conversation in heaven.' Yet not on that account do we believe this so certainly, as to *lay down without any doubt whatsoever*, that we shall be saved; nor do we require to be more certain, whether as to present justification

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[1] Rom. i. 17. [2] Ib. iv. 20, 21. [3] Ib. 18.
[4] Sess. vi. c. 6. [5] Rom. viii. 15. [6] Ib. 17.
[7] Ib. xii. 12. [8] Phil. iii. 20.

[justitia] or future glory. This suffices, that, as far as relates to God, we are secure, so as not to doubt of His promises and mercy, and of the merits of Christ, the efficacy of His Death and Resurrection; but with regard to ourselves, we are compelled to fear; so that, although there be not that *certainty* of faith *which can absolutely not be mistaken*, yet, confidence predominating, we have the fruition of Christ the Saviour, and are happy in hope; which is the sum of the doctrine delivered by the Council of Trent [9]; the root of which doctrine is laid open in the following article.

Art. VIII. *Of grace and the co-operation of free-will.*

"The Lutherans thought that the Catholics in such wise maintained free-will in things Divine, that it should, of itself, avail to effect something, which should conduce to salvation; which since the Council of Trent condemned [1], there is no longer any reason for censuring the use and exercise of free-will co-operating with God. Nay, the Confession of Augsburg and its Apology openly own this, when they attribute merits even to the good works of the justified person, and grant that they are meritorious, as we have already mentioned [2], and I will again repeat that saying of the Confession of Augsburg, in the chapter on good works, 'To these gifts of God our own practice ought to be added, which should both conserve them and merit an increase, according to that, "To him that hath shall be given," and Augustine said excellently, "Love meriteth an increase of love," viz. when it is exercised. So, here, amid the very mention of the grace of God, occurs our exercise or co-operation; and no wonder, since the Apostle, too, says, "[3] Not I, but the grace of God with me," on which place Augustine says rightly, "[4] Neither the grace of God alone, nor

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[9] Sess. vi. c. ix. can. 13—16.

[1] Sess. vi. c. i. xi. xii. xvi. Can. 1—3, 22.

[2] See Art. ii. iv. ab. pp. 61, 63.

[3] 1 Cor. xv. 10.

[4] De grat. et lib. arb. c. v. T. x. col. 724.

himself alone, but the grace of God with him."' Nor did the Tridentine Fathers lay down groundlessly, that free-will so co-operates, that it can also be at variance and cast away the grace of God[5]. Nor does the Confession of Augsburg dissent from this doctrine, '[6] since it condemns the Anabaptists, who deny that those once justified can again lose the Holy Spirit,' Whom if we can lose and cast away when He indwelleth, how much more, when He moveth and inciteth, and is not yet enthroned on the mind; to which doctrine what is delivered in the same Confession of Augsburg agreeth[7]. Hereby it is abundantly clear, that the Spirit and His grace may be so resisted that they may also be lost; which, that it may not be, God is to be prayed that He would rule our will, which, from its liberty, readily goes astray. And hence that fear, which we mentioned in the former article, conjoined with the highest confidence and the deepest peace. For our trust is in God, our fear from ourselves; which the Protestants, too, do not reject, since the Apostle monisheth, '[8] Work out your salvation with fear and trembling;' yet so, that that too holds, '[9] being confident of this very thing, that He Who began a good work in you will perform it to the Day of Jesus Christ."

d) There is yet a subject connected with justification, which it is well to mention here, because it is thought to trench most on the merits of Christ, viz. the doing of deeds of penitence, by which the soul, which gave itself to unlawful pleasures, should chasten itself by self-affliction, mortifying itself either directly, as by penitential prayer, or mediately through the body, as by fasting, &c., and other privation of bodily ease, or cutting off occasions of

[5] Sess. vi. c. v. Can. 4.
[6] Art. ii.
[7] Art. 6. and cap. de bonis op. Ib. i. 6.
[8] Phil. ii. 12.

self-indulgence and worldliness, through self-denying mercy and almsgiving to the poor. And yet such deeds must have their place in the Gospel, not only on the ground of the uniform belief of the Church, as taught immediately by the Apostles, but from Holy Scripture itself, since S. John Baptist enjoined those who came to him, to do works meet for repentance, and S. Paul includes "revenge" among the parts of true repentance. Bossuet set forth clearly that, being fruits of the grace of Christ, and availing by virtue of the All-perfect Satisfaction, of which they are fruits and applications, they cannot interfere with those merits of which they are fruits.

"[1] It is certain that Protestants abhor the doctrine of satisfaction, chiefly on this ground, that Christ Alone could satisfy for us; which is most true as to a full and exact satisfaction, nor was ever ignored by Catholics. But it does not follow that, if Christians are not equal to make payment, they should therefore not hold themselves bound to imitate Christ according to their little capacity [facultaculâ], and give what they have out of His largesse, afflicting their souls in mourning, in sackcloth and ashes, and redeeming their sins by almsgivings; offering, in fine, after the way of the Fathers from the very first centuries, their own 'satisfactions' (be they what they may) to avail in Christ's name, and to be through Him acceptable, as we said before [2], from the Council of Trent (Sess. xiv.). Wherefore neither would satisfaction, rightly understood, give offence, since the Apology says, '[3] Works and afflictions merit, not justification but other rewards.' But of almsgiving, which is

[1] Projet de réun. c. 2. Art. ix. n. 84, p. 443.

[2] See ab. Art. iii. p. 62.

[3] Respons. ad arg. p. 136.

accounted even chief among those satisfactory works, they say, '[4] Let us grant this, too, that alms merit many benefits of God, mitigate punishments, merit that we should be defended in perils of sins and death;' which comes to this, that, rejecting the word 'satisfaction,' which yet all antiquity admitted, they still admit the thing itself."

I may supplement this by the fuller statement of the "Exposition," which received so much formal approbation in the Roman Church.

"[5] Catholics teach with one common consent, that Jesus Christ, at once God and Man, could Alone, through the Infinite dignity of His Person, offer to God a sufficient satisfaction for our sins. But, having satisfied superabundantly, He could apply to us this infinite satisfaction in two ways; either by giving an entire effacement [of sins] without reserving any suffering, or by commuting a greater suffering into a less, i. e. eternal punishment into temporal punishments. The first way being the most entire and most conformable to His goodness, He employs it, first, in Baptism; but we believe that He employs the second in the remission which He grants to the baptized who fall back into sin, being, in a manner, forced thereto by the ingratitude of those who abused His first gift; so that they have to suffer some temporal punishment, although the eternal punishment is remitted to them.

"We must not conclude from this, that Jesus Christ did not entirely satisfy for us; but, contrariwise, that having acquired an absolute right over us by the infinite Price which He gave for our salvation, He grants us pardon on what conditions, under what law, and with what reservation He pleases.

"We should be unjust and ungrateful towards the Saviour, if we dared to dispute with Him the infinity of His merits, on the pretext that, in pardoning us the sin of Adam, He does not at the same time discharge us of all its consequences, leaving us still subject to death and to so many infirmities, bodily and

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[4] Ib. p. 117. [5] Exposition, n. 8. T. xviii. pp. 97—100.

spiritual, which that sin caused us. It suffices that Jesus Christ once paid the price, whereby we shall be, one day, entirely delivered from all the evils which overwhelm us. It is for us to receive, with humility and thanksgiving, each part of His benefit, considering the course by which He saw good to advance our deliverance, according to the order which His Wisdom established for our good, and for a clearer manifestation of His goodness and justice.

"For a like reason, we ought not to think it strange, if He, Who showed so great easiness towards us in Baptism, shows Himself less easy towards us, after we have violated its sacred promises. It is just, nay, salutary for us, that God, while forgiving the sin with the eternal punishment which we deserved, exacts from us some temporal punishment, to retain us in our duty, for fear that, escaping too readily from the hold of justice, we should abandon ourselves to a rash confidence, abusing the easiness of the pardon.

"It is then to satisfy this obligation that we are subjected to some irksome works, which we ought to perform in a spirit of humility and penitence; and it is the necessity of those satisfactory works, which obliged the ancient Church to impose on penitents what are called 'canonical penances.'

"When, then, it imposes on sinners painful and laborious works, and they submit themselves thereto with humility, this is called 'satisfaction;' and when, having regard either to the fervour of the penitents or to other good works which she prescribes to them, she relaxes something of the pain which is due to them, this is called Indulgence."

"Such," he sums up, after speaking briefly of indulgences and prayers, alms and sacrifices for the departed,—

"Such is the holy and innocent doctrine of the Church, touching satisfaction, which has been imputed to her as so great a crime. If, after this, the gentlemen of the reformed religion object to us, that we wrong the satisfaction of Jesus Christ, they must have forgotten what we have told them;

that the Saviour paid the entire price of our redemption; that nothing is lacking to that price, since it is Infinite; that these reservations of pains, of which we spoke, originate in no defect in this payment, but in a certain order, which He established, to restrain us through just apprehensions and a salutary discipline.

"But if further they urge against us, that we believe that we can by ourselves satisfy some portion of the suffering due to our sins, we can say confidently, that the maxims which we have established show the contrary. They show clearly that our whole salvation is nothing but a work of mercy and grace; that what we do by the grace of God, does not less belong to Him, than what He does quite Alone by His own absolute Will; in a word, that which we give to Him is not less His than what He gives to us. Add to this, that what we, after the whole ancient Church, call 'satisfaction,' is, after all, only an application of the satisfaction of Jesus Christ."

This office of works of self-revenge, strictness, and almsgiving, to make amends for repented post-Baptismal sin, is only what you and I, my dearest friend, with others, taught some five-and-thirty years ago. I set it down here, together with the preceding, not as any thing to be settled between the English and Roman Communions, but to remove that still too common prejudice, that works, done by the grace of Christ, are, in some way, our own, not (as S. Augustine says) "His gifts in us."

e) On the Adoration of our Blessed Lord's presence in the Holy Eucharist, which is so popular a source of objection, Molanus says,—

"[6] The whole Church of the Protestants is averse to the

[6] Bossuet, xxv. 298.

adoration of the Host, for fear of idolatry, not formal, indeed, but material; in the Roman Church, some teach that the adoration is directed to Christ present; some, to the Host present. Catholics, then, are requested in the [proposed] Imperial Council, to be pleased to teach, harmoniously with us, that that adoration should be directed to Christ Present Alone[7].

Bossuet answers, that this was so already:—

"[8] The alleged disagreement of Catholics as to the Adoration of the Eucharist is fictitious. For all agree, and the Council of Trent itself professes, that the worship is directed to Christ Present Alone; and that the species are not adored, unless simply accidentally, as, when people kneel before a king, accidentally they kneel before the purple wherewith he is arrayed. The most eminent man has this which he desires from Catholics. But that fear among Protestants as to a material idolatry (if they will allow me to say so), be it understood how it may, belongs to a weak mind, since not the outward rite alone, but the intention and direction of the worshipper conjoined therewith, constitute the worship."

f) On the worship of images, as well as on "the invocation of saints," Molanus says, that agreement could easily be come to.

"[9] On the worship of images, too, it will be easy to agree, so that, for the future, an excess, which the more moderate Catholics too blame in their people, be abandoned. It is manifest, that these images have no intrinsic virtue, and so that they ought neither to be adored, nor should prayers be said before them, except as far as they are used as a visible instrument, which may awaken in us the memory of Christ or of heavenly things. That some Roman Catholics err herein in excess, especially in Italy, Bavaria, and the hereditary provinces

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[7] Non nisi ad Christum præsentem terminari cultum.

[8] Ib. p. 384. [9] Ib. pp. 306, 307.

of the Roman Emperor, chiefly as to those images which are commonly believed to be miraculous, is too manifest to be denied. If, then, any one should desire to worship or invoke God before an image, let him use that moderation which the Israelites used formerly, looking on the brazen serpent with a sort of reverence, but with faith directed to God, not to the image. But away with that excess of ceremonies, which may generate, not indeed in instructed and prudent men, yet in the simpler sort, an opinion idolatrous or akin to idolatry, as to some divine virtue, inexisting in the image."

Bossuet answers,—

"[1] Here, too, the requests of this most learned man are most reasonable, viz. that the images be supposed to possess no other virtue than that 'of awakening the memory of Christ and of heavenly things,' and of transferring the cultus thereof and the thoughts thither, after the pattern of the serpent set up by Moses; the which is acknowledged to be agreeable to the 2nd Council of Nice and the Council of Trent."

g) Bossuet speaks of the doctrine of the Real Presence as "far the most difficult, yea, the only difficult one." But with regard to the Lutherans he felt that there would be no difficulty.

Of the Eucharist, and first of the Real Presence.

"[2] Here, too, there is no controversy, and we should thank God with all our power, that the Confession of Augsburg retained the Article, of all the most difficult, nay, alone difficult. This faith the Apology confirms and illustrates, and praises Cyril[3], saying, that 'Christ is exhibited to us corporally in the supper,' Christ, and that entire, nor only His Body and

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[1] Ib. p. 387.

[2] Decl. Fid. Orth. c. 2. art. 2. Œuvres, xxv. 431.

[3] Art. x. p. 157.

Blood, but whole, with both Soul, and Body, and Blood, and the Divinity itself even conjoined therewith; whence it subjoins, We speak of 'the Presence of Living Christ.' For we know that 'death shall not have dominion over Him[4].' This, then, suffices as to the Real Presence."

Reserving the question of Transubstantiation for the present, since the Council of Trent states the two doctrines separately, we cannot doubt that the Council of Trent, in regard to the Real Presence, expresses the ancient faith, and we could willingly adopt its terms as expressing our belief.

C. I. *Of the Real Presence of our Lord Jesus Christ in the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist.*

"[5] At the outset, the holy Synod teaches, and openly and simply professes, that in the blessed Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, after the consecration of the bread and wine, our Lord Jesus Christ, Very God and Very Man, is truly, really, and substantially contained under the species of these sensible things. For these things are not inconsistent, that our Saviour Himself ever sitteth at the Right Hand of the Father in heaven, according to His natural mode of existence, and yet that in other places He is sacramentally present with us by His Substance, in that way of being, which, although we can scarcely express it in words, we can, by thought illumined by faith, understand to be possible to God[6], and ought most stedfastly to believe. For so all those before us, as many as were in the true Church of Christ, Who treated on this most holy Sacrament, most openly professed, that our Redeemer instituted this so wonderful Sacrament in the Last Supper,

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[4] Ib. p. 158.

[5] Sess. xiii.

[6] Matt. xix. 26; Luke xviii. 27.

when, after the benediction of the bread and wine, He, in plain and perspicuous words, attested that He gave them His own Body and His own Blood; which words, recorded by the holy Evangelists[7], and afterwards repeated by S. Paul[8], in that they bear upon their face that proper and most plain meaning, according to which they were understood by the Fathers, it is a most unworthy misdeed, that they should be twisted by some contentious and perverse men to fictitious and imaginary tropes, whereby the verity of the Body and Blood of Christ is denied, contrary to the universal sense of the Church, which, as '[9] the pillar and ground of the truth,' detested, as Satanic, these inventions devised by ungodly men, ever acknowledging with grateful memory this most excellent benefit of Christ."

C. II. *Of the mode of the institution of this most holy Sacrament.*

"Our Saviour, then, when about to depart out of this world to the Father, instituted this Sacrament, in which He poured out, as it were, the riches of His Divine love towards men, making '[1] a memory of His marvellous works,' and taught us, in the reception thereof, to cherish His memory[2], and to show forth His death, until He should come Himself to judge the world. But He willed that this Sacrament should be received[3] as the spiritual food of souls, whereby they should be nourished and strengthened, living by the life of Him Who said, '[4] he that eateth Me, the same shall also live by Me,' and as an antidote, whereby we may be delivered from daily faults and preserved from deadly sins. He willed, also, that it should be a pledge of our future glory and everlasting felicity, and also a symbol of that one body whereof He Himself is the Head[5], and to which He willed that we, as members, should be bound by

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[7] Matt. xxvi. 26—28. Mark xiv. 22—24. Luke xxii. 19 sq.
[8] 1 Cor. xi. 24 sq. [9] 1 Tim. iii. 15.
[1] Ps. cxi. 4. [2] Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 24—26.
[3] Matt. xxvi. 26 sq. [4] John vi. 57.
[5] 1 Cor. xi. 3. Eph. v. 23.

the closest connexion of faith, hope, and charity, that we all say the same thing, and that there be no schisms among us [6]."

C. III. *Of the excellency of the most holy Eucharist above the other sacraments.*

"The most holy Eucharist has this in common with the other sacraments, that it is a symbol of a sacred thing, and 'a visible form of invisible grace [7],' but it hath *this* excellency, peculiar to itself, that the other sacraments have not the power of sanctifying, until they are used; but in the Eucharist, the Author of sanctity is, before it is used. For the Apostles had not yet received the Eucharist at the hand of the Lord [8], when yet He truly affirmed, that That which He was giving was His Body; and this has ever been the faith in the Church of God, that, immediately after the consecration, the Very Body of our Lord and His Very Blood are present, together with His Soul and Divinity, under the species of bread and wine; but the Body under the species of bread, the Blood under the species of wine by the force of the words; and the Body under the species of wine, and the Blood under the species of bread, and the Soul under each, by the virtue of that natural connexion and concomitancy, whereby the parts of the Lord Christ, Who has risen from the dead, now to die no more [9], are united together; and His Divinity, on account of that wonderful hypostatic union with His Soul and Body. Wherefore it is most true, that the same is contained under either species and under both. For Whole and Entire Christ exists under the species of bread, and under every part of the species; Whole He existeth under the species of wine, and under its parts."

Without entering now into the Communion under one kind, as prepared for by the last words,

[6] 1 Cor. i. 10.
[7] De cons. D. ii. c. 32.
[8] Matt. xxvi. 26. Mark xiv. 22.
[9] Rom. vi. 9.

no words could express more exactly the faith of those who believe in the Real Presence, than these words. I have translated them the rather, because they are words of conciliation. But then this being so, since we, equally with yourselves, thank our God for this His condescending love (and to those who in simple faith believe that He "did not abhor the Virgin's womb," no other act of His lowly lovingkindness can be too startlingly great), one of your eminent Theologians has said to me, that there could be no difficulty between us as to what remains, viz. the explanation of the term chosen to express it. We entirely believe that which is beyond our senses; we only desire that there should be no statement which would involve an illusion of the senses in those things of which the senses are cognizant. It is a question as to the meaning of words, "what is meant by the word 'substantia'?" Now, since the object of the word "transubstantiation" is to secure that our Lord's Words, "This is My Body, This is My Blood," should be taken in their strictest sense, it seems that you are in no way concerned with any thing, except the quidditas rei, the οὐσία, the essence of the thing, "*that* (whatever it is) which it is." When the Council of Trent declares that "through the consecration of the bread and wine there takes place a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the Body of Christ our Lord, and of the whole substance of

the wine into the substance of His Blood," there is, by the force of the terms, a correlation between the substance which is changed, and that whereinto it is affirmed to be changed. But since our Lord's Body is not present "after the natural mode of the existence of a body," then the word "substance" is used of His Blessed Body, independently of any known conditions of its existence. "Vazquez," Veron reports, "thinks that it is a contradiction, that the Body of Jesus Christ should, *according to its dimensions*, be present at the same time, in different places." It would be blasphemy to think, with the Capernaites, that we so ate the Body and drank the Blood of Christ, as that they should be transmuted into the corruptible substances of our bodies. "It is not of faith," again says Veron, "that the bread is transubstantiated into the Body of Christ, *as* the bread which we eat is changed into the substance of our body." Since, then, the Body and Blood of Christ are present in their substance (for otherwise they could not be present at all), but the presence of that "substance" does not involve the presence of any of the ordinary properties of a body, so, neither does the conversion of the substance of the bread and of the wine into the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ, involve the conversion of any of the properties of the bread or wine. We may then (as I said) think that by "substance" is meant the "essence," or οὐσία of a thing, that which it is

(whatever it *is*), its "quidditas;" and under the "species" which remain, and which are the veil of the unseen Presence, we may understand "the φύσις or nature, including all those properties of which the senses are cognizant, and with them, or among them, the natural power of supporting and nourishing our bodies." For although the Catechism of the Council of Trent is not authoritative, yet it has, I suppose, more authority than any individual Doctor, or than many Doctors; and *it* distinctly asserts, that "by this name" [bread] "the Eucharist has been called, because it has the appearance and still *retains* the quality *natural* to bread, of supporting and nourishing." Whatever may have been the value of the Aristotelian philosophy to Christian Theology, it has, I think, in this particular instance, introduced needless difficulty into the Divine mystery; difficulty which relates, not to the mystery declared by our Lord, but attaching to the use of the word "substance." For while affirming that the substance of the bread had ceased to be, they, following that philosophy, for the most part, assumed that the power of nourishing ceased also; and that it was restored by miracle, for which miracle there is no authority in our Lord's words which are the foundation of the mystery, nor has the Church ever laid down any thing upon it. But if the species, i.e. that which the Roman Church also believes to remain as the outward veil of our Blessed Lord's Presence,

retains those natural powers of nourishing and refreshing, then, as I have for many years said, I can see no contradiction; there is nothing, the existence of which the Church of England, while she says that "the bread and wine remain in their very natural substances," can mean to affirm, the existence whereof the Council of Trent can mean to deny, when it affirms "the conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the Body of Christ our Lord, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of His Blood." For, in addition to those qualities, which, in philosophic language, were termed "accidents," the Catechism of Trent includes a property which is not cognizable by sight, or touch, or taste—that whereby the body is strengthened and refreshed. This, whatever it be, is liable to corruption, for (as a Dominican father observed to me, when I spoke to him of our English dread of admitting any illusion of the senses in the things whereof the senses are cognizant) it is acknowledged by the Roman Church also, that when the sacramental species are corrupted, the Presence of our Lord ceases.

However, then, in ordinary controversy or explanations, we seem to be almost hopelessly met with the contrast of "substance" and "accidents," yet the contrast belongs to the schools, not to the Church. The word "substantia," having first been used in Christianity of the simple Essence of God, does not in itself involve the contrast of accident,

which cannot be in God: its Greek equivalent οὐσία [1], or, as formed from it, μετουσίωσις, would not, I suppose, to the mind of Eastern theologians suggest the contrast of the Aristotelic accidents. Even as to accidents themselves, Peter Lombard [2], (whom I have observed to be followed by the great Canonist, Card. Henri de Segusio [3],) includes "weight" among things which remain. "If it be asked, of what sort that conversion is, whether formal or substantial, or of another sort, I am not equal to define; yet I know that it is not formal, because the species of things, which were before, remain, and taste and weight." And it is plain that "weight" is an accident, since a man remains the same man, although emaciated by illness; and even when there is no personal identity, as in inanimate substances, things have their weight accidentally lessened under different circumstances, and yet are the same. A tree, though decayed; a step, though worn by those who have knelt upon it; bread, when it loses its moisture, are, respectively, the same tree, step, bread. But since "the variation of weight," physicists tell us, "depends on the greater or less density of the body, i. e. as the particles are

[1] Theodoret, who is quoted as contrasting οὐσία with ξυμβεβηκὸς ("The body is to be called οὐσία, and the disease and health accident."—Inconf. p. 22. ed. Sch.), used the word of something incidental to the body, not of any ens of the body itself.

[2] IV. dist. xii. init.

[3] Super iii. Decr. de celebr. miss. c. vi. n. 8. f. 163. Ven. 1581.

packed more or less closely, their sameness of weight involves the sameness of density of the particles," which is, I suppose, what we mean by "matter."

I am glad to be informed that the proposition, "[4] The Eucharistic accidents are not real accidents, but mere illusions and ocular deceptions," was condemned among you in 1649, and that at least one held in good repute among you (whose work also, he tells us, has been thoroughly revised by a distinguished Dominican theologian) says, "[5] It seems that, according to theologians, it is necessary to hold that the species are real. In the Holy Eucharist, then, it appears that there are certain *qualities* remaining after the conversion of the bread, over and above the affections caused by them."

Tournely, I observe, uses still stronger language; that "[6] the holy Fathers, disputing against the Eutychians, supposed, as a thing certain, that, after the consecration, there remains some real and physical ens distinct from the Body of Christ." It has also been pointed out to me how Perrone denies that the Church is committed to any explanation of her terms by human philosophy.

[4] "The sacred congregation in 1649 condemned the following proposition: 'Accidentia Eucharistica non sunt accidentia realia, sed meræ illusiones, et præstigia oculorum.'"—Dalgairns' "The Holy Communion," Note F. p. 420.

[5] Id. Ib.

[6] De Euch. qu. ii. art. v. pp. 210 sqq. quoted in the Études Réligieuses, Ser. iv. T. i. p. 65.

In answer to the objection,—

"[7] It is of no avail to answer with S. Thomas, that the accidents which, after the destruction of the substance of bread and wine, subsist by miracle without a subject, produce those same effects which the substance used to produce, whether by passion or action, because they subsist by the mode of a substance: for the theory as to absolute accidents is rejected as well by physics as by sound philosophy, since the species are nothing else than modes or affections of nature, which therefore cannot, even by the will of God, be separated from it, just as volitions cannot be separated from the will;"

Perrone says,—

"[8] We put aside the whole argument. For faith teaches us to believe the Real Presence of Christ, but not either the absolute accidents of the Peripatetics, or any other philosophical system whatsoever. Faith is ever simple; the additions of men are for the most part involved and difficult."

He says more at length, that "the difficulties raised by the unbelieving or by heretics," as if the doctrine of the Real Presence were contrary to right reason, "might be solved alike, according to the Aristotelian, or the Cartesian philosophy, or that of Boschowich." Plainly then, in his conviction, the Church is in no way bound to the Aristotelian theory of substance and accidents.

But the Church of England is in no way committed or concerned to deny any "sacramental change." Her office for Holy Communion involves a belief in it; for when giving *That*, upon which the

[7] Tract. de Euch. n. 114. Præl. Theol. vi. p. 206.

[8] Ib. n. 119, quoting Emm. Maignan Minim. Philosophia Sacra, T. i. c. 22.

consecrating words have been pronounced, she uses a translation of the ancient formula of the Sarum Ritual, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life." The old words (as we have so often said) must have the old meaning; and, although our Blessed Lord in His glorious Body intercedes for us in heaven with the Father, His Body Itself has no special office for us except that of which He Himself speaks, "Whoso eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood hath everlasting life, and I will raise him up at the last Day." But since before the Consecration, it was "mere" bread and wine, then, in the language of S. Athanasius, "when the great and wonderful prayers have been completed over it, then the bread becomes the Body, the cup, the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ." But since the philosophy as to substance and accidents forms no part of the Roman faith, the Church of England, having premised that under the 'species,' which the Council of Trent speaks of as remaining, she understood nothing illusive or unreal, but the φύσις or "nature," including the power of supporting and nourishing, of which Pope S. Gelasius speaks, could say, that the substance which was changed was the essence or οὐσία thereof, according to the prayer in S. Chrysostom's Liturgy, "Send down Thy Spirit upon us and upon these gifts lying here, and make this bread that Precious Body of Thy Christ, and that which is in the Cup the Blood of Thy Christ,

changing (μεταβαλὼν) [them] by Thy Spirit. And since this assertion that the Holy Eucharist, besides what are called accidents, still "*retains* the quality *natural* to bread, of supporting and nourishing" is the doctrine of the Catechism of the Council of Trent, the Church of Rome must, I suppose, accept it as an admissible explanation.

There must altogether be much confusion as to the belief allowed by the Roman Church, since I have uniformly found both surprise and joy expressed, when I have read to non-theologians who were previously unacquainted with them, the following statements of Veron:—

"[9] The true, real, and substantial presence of the Body Blood, Soul, and Divinity of Jesus Christ being admitted, one may, without injury to the faith, say, that the Body, under the Eucharistic symbol, is *spiritual*, and that Jesus Christ Himself is there as *a quickening Spirit*, according to the meaning which the Apostle gives to those words, 1 Cor. xv. 4.

"One may say, with Vazquez, that the Body of Christ is there, 'entire in the whole and entire in each part, as if it were Spirit,' that it is present in a *spiritual* manner, and not in an *animal* or *corporal* manner.

"One may say in like way, that It is received *spiritually* or in *a spiritual manner*, and not *carnally* or in *a carnal manner*.

"One cannot say that the Body of Christ is in the Holy Eucharist as in *a place*. It is not of faith that He is present there with His quantity or extension.

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[9] I give his words as they are given in a R. C. and Jesuit Eirenicon, "Étude de la Doctrine Catholique dans le Concile de Trente, proposée comme moyen de réunion de toutes les communions Chrétiennes," par M. Nampon, p. 708.

"Vazquez thinks that the Body of Jesus Christ, with or according to its extension, could not be present at the same time in different places.

"It is to speak a language inexact, rather than conformable to faith, to say that by the consecration, It is *produced anew*, or *preserved*, or *brought thither*, or that it *descends* from heaven on the Altar, as if It quitted heaven and traversed the atmosphere.

"Nor is it of faith that the bread is transubstantiated into the Body of Jesus Christ, as the bread which we eat is changed into the substance of our body;

"Nor that, by transubstantiation the Body of Jesus Christ is *produced anew*, or *preserved*, or *endowed* with a manner of being, which expels, by a sort of incompatibility, the substance of bread and wine;

"Nor that by It the bread and wine are annihilated."

And to add here to what I have above extracted from Bossuet, the disclaimers by Veron and the De Walenburchs.

In regard to the Eucharistic sacrifice, Veron uses language which would leave open almost every question, so hotly debated among controversialists.

"Although it is of faith, that the sacrifice of the Mass is a true sacrifice, and properly so called, yet it is not of faith that it is an *absolute* and not a *commemorative* sacrifice only. The Real Presence of Jesus Christ upon the altar representing, by the way in which the consecration is performed, His Bloody Death, and, by this representation, honouring and rendering sensible the supreme dominion of God and His right over His creatures for life and death, suffices to constitute a sacrifice properly so called, notwithstanding that His Death is only figured there.

"The Sacrifice of the Mass is *not propitiatory* in the same degree and in the same manner as the Sacrifice of the Cross.

The Sacrifice of the Cross merited our redemption; that of the Mass, like the sacraments, faith, good works, is *an instrument which applies to us that Merit.*

"This sacrifice does not apply to us the merits of the Cross *immediately*, like the Sacrament of Penitence, nor according to a definite law, nor *ex opere operato*, but by means of our prayers. It is not of faith, says Vazquez, but certain, that it remits immediately, certainly, and always, the penalty due to the living and the dead for their sins; to the living, according to their disposition; to the dead, according to the good pleasure of God.

"It is not of faith that the value of this sacrifice is infinite."

On the Adoration Veron says, using the same illustration as Bossuet's,—

"It is false and calumnious to say that we adore in the Eucharist any thing but Jesus Christ, veiled under the species of bread and wine. The adoration which we render to the Holy Sacraments is an absolute worship, in as far as it has for its object Jesus Christ present under the symbols. It would be a relative worship, if it referred to the symbols themselves, as become by the consecration inseparable from the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. One might, in that case, say of this *relative* worship all which one says of the worship of images. But *one may deny that we render any worship whatsoever* to these Eucharistic *symbols;* and if we happen to say that we adore them, we then employ the figure of speech, called *synecdoche*, a figure which takes the thing containing for That which is contained. *We adore Jesus Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, as we honour the king wrapped in his mantle or borne in his carriage.*"

And, in like way, the De Walenburchs,—

"[1] All Catholics believe that Christ Jesus is to be adored

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[1] De Christ. Eccl. L. xi. P. 2, c. 1, T. ii. p. 321. De W. supports this further, "Nor is any thing further mentioned in

with the worship of Latreia in the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist: for so the Council of Trent says most plainly in the Canon adduced. *Whoever* believes this prayer, is in this point a Catholic, nor is he obliged among Catholics to believe or to do any thing more."

If such statements as these were authenticated by the Roman Communion, so that, while others should be left free to think as they have been wont to think, or not to think at all on these subjects, we, if united to them, should be left free, not to have any thing contrary to this enforced on our faith, I believe that the way in which even the uninstructed among us approach the subject of the Roman doctrine on the Holy Eucharist would be essentially changed.

the Council in the Canon alleged above, because the question there relates to absolute adoration, which cannot be imagined to be twofold, so that the one should end in Christ, the other in the species, because the Council infers the absolute adoration from the Real Presence through Transubstantiation," "there being, *therefore*, no doubt; because the Council says, 'That the cultus of Latreia, which is due to the true God, is exhibited to this Sacrament,' but it is certain that that cultus of Latreia is absolute; since it is certain that that absolute cultus is due to Christ only, not to the species, and because the Council declares that that cultus was paid to Christ by the Magi and the Apostles, which worship was absolute, relating to Christ Himself. Therefore there is no mention there of the adoration of the symbols. When, then, the Council says that the most holy Sacrament is to be adored, we understand by 'the Sacrament' nothing else than Christ Himself, Who, in the Sacrament, is the sign and cause of grace, as He is also the Substance Itself of the Sacrament. Vid. Veron, *Epit. Controv.* T. i. p. 301; T. iii. p. 748, Reg. general. p. 26."

h) *On the Number of the Sacraments.*

In regard to the eminence of the two great sacraments, Baptism and the Holy Eucharist above the rest, there will be, I imagine, no difficulty. The one we acknowledge, on both sides, to be the re-birth of God the Holy Ghost, the grafting into Christ, whereby we are taken out of our state of nature, and our supernatural life in Christ is begun in us: the Holy Eucharist is eminently our life, the crown of the Christian being, our closest union with Christ, the great invention of our Blessed Lord's love, to make Himself present to us and in us, as He is nowhere besides in this earth. Of its eminence there can be no question, since the Council of Trent condemns those who say that the seven sacraments are in such wise equal one to the other, that in no respect is one more worthy than another[2]. Reverencing, as you do, primitive and unbroken tradition, you too could not hesitate to esteem above all the rest the two sacraments which flowed from the Side of Christ[3]. These two are essential to

[2] Sess. vii. cap. 4.

[3] This is dwelt upon by writers of the Latin as well as of the Greek Church. In the West from the first, in Tertullian (de Bapt. c. 16, p. 163), then S. Ambrose (in S. Luc. l. x. n. 135), S. Augustine (in S. Joann. Tract. cxx. n. 2; de lucta Jacob, Serm. 5. T. v. p. 30, and in general terms in S. Joann. Tract. cx. n. 10; xv. n. 8; De Civ. Dei, xv. 26; xxii. 17. c. Faust. xii. 39), S. Paulinus of Nola (Ep. 42 Florent. n. 4), the author of the De Symbolo] (L. ii. c. 6) and of the De Cata-

the Christian life. Confirmation enlarges the gift of Baptism, and was counted of old a supplement to it, or almost a part of it. The sacrament of Penitence were not needed, if we ever kept faithfully the gift in Baptism : it is but a second plank given to us by the mercy of God after shipwreck. The sacrament of Matrimony hallows an allowed, yet not the highest, state of the Christian. Orders are directly but for one class; although that class was instituted for the good of all, and its offices are necessary to all. The Unction of the Sick is not held to be necessary to salvation. But Baptism clothes us with Christ, and in the Holy Eucharist He is Himself our Food.

On the other hand, there cannot even be a question that in Orders and Confirmation the Church of England prescribed the use of an outward sign, and speaks of an inward grace. In Penitence it has preserved the essential words of the ancient ritual.

clysmo (c. iv.) in S. Aug. T. vi. In the Greek Church S. Chrysostom (in S. Joann. Hom. 85), the author of the Testim. de Adventu Dom. in S. Gregory of Nyssa (T. ii. pp. 161, sqq.), probably Apollinarius (ad loc. in Corderii Cat.), S. Cyril of Alexandria (ad loc.), S. John Damascene (De Fid. Orthod. iv. 9). The original and vivid language of S. Isaac the Great witnesses to an independent tradition of the Syriac-speaking Churches:—"Faith came to me, and called to me, and said to me that the sacraments of the Church came forth from the opened side of Christ" (Serm. de fide in Assem. B. O. i. 243). This and other passages of the Greek and Latin fathers are discussed in my "Scriptural Doctrine of Holy Baptism," pp. 294—297.

For Christian Marriage it requires the benediction of the Priest, and directly calls it a "sacrament[4]." Of Absolution the Homilies say that "it hath the inward grace of forgiveness of sins," and speaks of "the visible sign, which is imposition of hands," although they advert to the fact (in distinction from Baptism and the Holy Eucharist) that that forgiveness is "not, by express words of the New Testament, annexed and tied to it." They only say that "neither Orders, nor any *other* sacrament else be *such* Sacraments as Baptism and Communion are." The Article itself, which distinguishes the five from the two, virtually declares them to be in some sense sacraments, since it says only that they "have not the *like* nature of sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper[5]."

These things we have in fugitive words taught for full thirty years; and have, I suppose, been scarcely contradicted. This teaching has been part of a popular interpretation of the Articles. The young have been accustomed to it as much as they were, before, to that traditional *mis*-interpretation of certain Articles, which your own Tract XC. stripped off from them[6]. It will now, I hope (as embodied in a thoughtful exposition of the Articles,

[4] Homilies, Sermon of Swearing, P. 2.

[5] Homily on Common Prayer and Sacraments.

[6] It is very characteristic of the imperceptible change which has gone on in the Church of England, that, although Tract XC. had been so long out of print, its principles of interpretation, when I was kindly permitted to republish it, were recognized at

as a whole[7]), have a permanent and systematic influence upon the English Church.

In one case only, the Unction of the Sick, the superstition of the people[8], who seem to have dreaded it as though it were a herald of death, has produced a change which is a loss to us, both as to doctrine and practice. Our Article condemns only that practice which was almost forced on the clergy by the extreme unwillingness of the people to receive the Unction. It is strange that we, who so desire to build on Holy Scripture, should have laid aside a practice which has such distinct and almost peremptory authority from S. James[9]. But on that very ground, one may the rather hope that there may be no ultimate difficulty in its restoration, whensoever it shall be made clear that one object at least of it is restoration to health, if

once by those relatively young, as the principles which they had always received and held.

[7] Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles, by A. P. Forbes, Bp. of Brechin, Art. xxv.

[8] Ib. p. 470 sqq.

[9] Dean Alford, e. g., on James v. 14, states that the words "in the name of the Lord" belong to the word "anointing;" and that, "thus joined, they show that the anointing was not a mere human medium of cure, but *had a sacramental character;*" comparing the use of "the same words, 'in the name' or 'into the name of,'" (Matt. 28. 19; Acts 2. 38; 10. 48; 19. 5; 1 Cor. 1. 13, 15). And yet he declaims against the Roman use of the passage in defence of the practice of Extreme Unction [i. e. the last in life, not an unction in extremis] on the ground apparently of its being used when there is no hope or almost possibility of recovery.

God so will. Meanwhile, we have for ourselves this comfort, that it is (as I said) not counted by any necessary to salvation [10]; that by Absolution God forgives our sins, and that our souls are fortified for their last struggle by the Body and Blood of Christ. In regard to doctrine, we know that our Article condemns only a practice which is contrary alike to the prayers of the Latin [1] as well as the Greek [2] ritual, since both pray for the restoration of the sick to health, and in principle in no way differ from that of our first English Prayer Book [3], which was omitted through an unhappy temporizing, in the attempt to win those who would not be won, and has not yet been restored.

I have spoken elsewhere [4] of the difficulty of attaching a definite meaning to the Tridentine statement about "the remains of sin," or what sins remain to be remitted by "Extreme Unction" after Confession and Absolution. But, in case of reunion, possibly a general acknowledgment of meaning whatever S. James means, might suffice; and that the more, since Roman theologians have not come, as yet, to any agreement upon it.

[10] "Extreme Unction, or Confirmation, which are neither of necessity of salvation," &c. S. Thom. Aq. in iv. dist. 23, q. 1. art. i. fin.

[1] Translated in the Bp. of Brechin's Explan. pp. 468, 469.

[2] Translated, "Eirenicon," p. 227.

[3] See at length ibid. pp. 221, 222.

[4] "Eirenicon," pp. 223—227.

i) The Intermediate State.

In regard to the Intermediate State, we have been, as it were, looking on the two sides of the shield—we, on "the joy and felicity" of those who "are delivered from the burden of the flesh," the "blessedness" of "the dead which die in the Lord," their "rest from their labours," and their being with God; the writers and preachers before the Reformation dwelt, as far as we are acquainted with them, upon sufferings "which gave no rest."

The Council of Trent (to which you drew attention formerly, as illustrating the meaning of our Articles) reformed some abuses, and, so, owned that there were abuses to be reformed.

"[5] Among the rude people let more difficult and more subtle questions, and which make not for edification, and from which mostly there arises no accession to piety, be set aside from popular sermons. Let them [the Bishops] not permit things uncertain, or which have the semblance of falsehood, to be published or preached. But those things, whose aspect is to a sort of curiosity or superstition, and which savour of filthy lucre, let them prohibit as scandals and stumbling-blocks to the faithful."

But, apart from abuses, I suppose that it has been common among your writers to dwell exclusively upon the sufferings, whether of the temporary

[5] Sess. xxv. init.

privation of God, or of fire—of which Bellarmine says, "it is the common mind of theologians, that it is true and proper fire, and of the same species with our element," and appeals in illustration to the eruptions of fire in Mount Ætna[6]. It is true that, in answer to an objection of Calvin, who urged S. Augustine's saying, "All souls, when they depart from the world, have different receptions: the good have joy, and the evil torments," Bellarmine admits very distinctly that "joy and rest are given immediately upon death to all who depart in charity. For presently all become certain of their eternal salvation, which brings great joy; yet that joy is not given in the same way, but diversely, according to the diversity of merits; for to some it is given without admixture of dolour, to some not without admixture of temporal sufferings, as the same S. Augustine very often teaches[7]." It is true, too, that in the Canon of the Mass the Church of Rome presupposes that those for whom she prays

[6] De Purg. ii. 11.

[7] Ib. i. 9. n. 5. In another place Bellarmine quotes and approves S. Bonaventura's teaching (in iv. d. 20, art. 1. q. 2) "1. That the 'pain of loss' in purgatory is not greater than all pain, whether of Purgatory or of this life. 2. That the pains of Purgatory are greater than the pains of this life, in this sense only, that the greatest pain of Purgatory is greater than the greatest pain of this life, although some pain of Purgatory be less than some pain of this life." "This opinion," Bellarmine subjoins, "approves itself to me; for though the absence of the Supreme Good in itself generates supreme sorrow in the soul, yet in Purgatory this sorrow is mitigated and

are "in peace." "Remember, Lord, Thy servants and Thy handmaidens, which have gone before us with the seal of faith, and sleep in the sleep of peace." Still, I suppose, that in the doctrine of purgatory, as ordinarily inculcated, the sufferings are almost exclusively dwelt upon; certainly, as it reaches us, the one idea which we have, is of unendurable suffering, and *that* suffering chiefly physical; and that, like the fire of hell. The belief that Purgatory is held to be this horrible unmitigated suffering, equal to the pains of hell except in duration, is, I suppose, almost universal among us. Controversy brings out this side exclusively, and *that* of necessity; for the very question at issue is as to sufferings of the saved after this life. Those on our side dwell on the passages of Holy Scripture or the Fathers which speak of or imply the peace or rest of the departed; those on your side have to vindicate the belief in a state of suffering. And in so doing, neither side seems to bear in mind the case of the other. Even S. François de Sales, who spoke orally so touchingly and lovingly of the consolation, speaks in his controversy only of the suffering[8]; for it was the thing which he had to speak on. The Bibliothèque des Prédicateurs, again[9], which,

relieved in great part on account of the certain hope of obtaining that Good: for that most certain hope brings incredible joy, and the nearer the end of that exile approaches, so much the more does that joy increase" (de Purg. ii. 14).

[8] Controverses, Discours 72—80.

[9] Art. Purgatoire, T. viii.

though belonging to the early part of last century, is, I understood, used as a suggestive manual for preachers, insists, in an article of some seventy quarto pages, on many aggravations of the sufferings, gives some most harrowing descriptions of physical sufferings, but does not allude to any consolations. Even the love of God in those detained there, it speaks of only as aggravating the intensity of the suffering (as indeed it must be) of being kept away from the sight of Him.

But I need not rest on my own imperfect knowledge of your writers on this subject. Faber[1], although he says that "there have always been two views of purgatory prevailing in the Church," states fully that this austere view—

"Is met with in by far the greater number of the lives and revelations of Italian and Spanish saints, the works of the Germans of the middle ages, and the popular delineations of purgatory in Belgium, Portugal, Brazil, Mexico, and elsewhere. It is embodied in the terrible sermons of the Italian Quaresimali and those wayside pictures which so often provoke the fastidiousness of the English traveller. It loves to represent purgatory simply as a hell which is not eternal. Violence, confusion, wailing, horror, preside over its descriptions. It dwells, and truly, on the terribleness of the pain of sense which the soul is mysteriously permitted to endure. The fire is the same fire as that of hell, created for the single and express purpose of giving torture. Our earthly fire is as painted fire compared to it. Besides this, there is a special and undefinable horror to the disembodied soul in becoming the prey of this material agony. The sense of imprisonment, close and in-

[1] All for Jesus, c. 9. pp. 335—337.

tolerable, and the intense palpable darkness are additional features in the horror of the scene, which prepare us for that sensible neighbourhood to hell, which many saints have spoken of as belonging to purgatory. Angels are represented as active executioners of God's awful justice. Some have even held that the demons were permitted to touch and harass the spouses of Christ in those ardent fires. Then to this terribleness of the pain of sense is added the dreadfulness of the pain of loss. The beauty of God remains in itself the same immensely desirable object it ever was. But the soul is changed. All that in life and in the world of sense dulled its desires after God, is gone from it, so that it seeks Him with an impetuosity which no imagination can at all conceive. The very burning excess of its love becomes the measure of its intolerable pain. To these horrors we might add many more, which depict it simply as a hell not eternal[2]."

"This view," Faber adds, "seems to have been borne out in its minutest details by the conclusions of scholastic theologians, as may be seen at once by referring to Bellarmine, who, in each section of his treatise on Purgatory, compares the revelations of the saints with the consequences of theology.—Many theologians have said, not only that the least pain of Purgatory was greater than the greatest pain on earth, but greater than all the pains of earth put together. This, then, is a true view of Purgatory, but not a complete one."

But this aspect of the doctrine shows what was meant by our Article when it rejected the "Romish" doctrine. It rejected it at first (you remember) as "the doctrine of the schoolmen;" and Faber speaks of the minutest details of this view being borne out by the conclusions of scholastic theologians. He says indeed that the other view was always held, but his earliest authority for it is S. Catherine of

[2] These traits recur in the extracts from different sermons in the "Bibliothèque des Prédicateurs."

Genoa. Apart from those extremest horrors, the onesidedness of the statements has, I think, perpetuated the alienation of minds from the whole subject. The revulsion from the belief that they whom we love "are in rest and felicity" to the thought of their being simply in pain equal, as was said, to those of hell except in duration, is so great that men's deepest affections were enlisted against the reception of such a belief.

And so we dwelt upon what is true, and what you too acknowledge in your prayers, that the faithful departed not only "rest from their labours," and that the strife with sin is over, but that they are "in peace;" and we rejected, as inconsistent with it, what your writers had dwelt upon so exclusively that it seemed to exclude our true belief. In this way it has come to pass that our people have been scared from dwelling on the plain text of St. Paul, who does, so almost unmistakably, declare that, for some at least, there shall be suffering in the Day of Judgment, when he speaks of those who build "[3] wood, hay, stubble" upon the One Foundation, which is Christ, and whose "work shall be burned," and they themselves "shall escape, yet so as by fire."

This passage of St. Paul seems to me absolutely to require the belief that there will be suffering for the imperfect good in the Day of Judgment, setting aside for the moment whether that Day be

[3] 1 Cor. iii. 11—15.

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that of the Particular or of the General Judgment; when God shall bring every secret thing into judgment, which we have done in the body, whether it be good or bad. People, I think, could not doubt it, if they were not so indisposed to it by fear of consequences, that they turn away to any thing rather than own it to themselves. The question, whether S. Paul is speaking of teachers or of the taught, upon which some have gone off, is so utterly irrelevant. The question is one of principles, whether S. Paul does or does not speak of sufferings after death to some who shall be saved. If he does speak of such sufferings as to any, it would follow, on the principles of Divine holiness and justice, that the like suffering would befall those whose moral failure was the same. Whatever might be the moral or religious defect of the teachers, which brought on them those sufferings, analogous defects in the taught would bring on them like sufferings. Almost all are agreed now, that "the day" which shall "make manifest" of what sort each man's work is, is the Day of Judgment; that, on that Day, there will be those who, "having held to and built on the One foundation, Jesus Christ," shall be saved, yet shall be deprived of their reward for those works. And this in itself involves unutterable anguish; anguish, compared to which no imaginable temporary suffering could be of the least account. Worse than any of those most terrific descriptions of Purgatory which men most dread, must be the

suffering of this irremediable loss of what men had thought well done in this life, of what, if well done, would have had an everlasting reward. For all, except eternal suffering, must come to an end; the loss of reward is an eternal loss of so much capacity of the love of God, Who has said, "I am thine exceeding great Reward." No thoughtful person would imagine himself hesitating to cast himself into Hell (if he could, retaining there his love for God), there to remain for whatever time God might see fit, if so he could win back any of the capacity of eternally loving God which we forfeit by those perishing, unrewarded works. But it may not be. Growth in grace is only here, where there is risk of failure. We are to be rewarded for "the deeds done in the body." The good deeds might have been done and were not, or fell manifoldly short of what by God's grace they might have been, and the loss is irreparable. Can any suffering, short of Hell, be like this? Nor do I think that, but for that dread of consequences, any could doubt that to "escape so as by" or "through fire" (and *that*, when "fire" has just been used of the awful Day of Judgment), can mean any thing short of most exceeding suffering. If men would bring themselves to face S. Paul's words, they would, I think, see that his words imply that those sufferings of the Day of Judgment (whether they believe them to relate to the Judgment of God upon each soul on parting out of life, or the General Judg-

ment at the end) may very probably be more or less prolonged; and that, when every second will seem like a century. One who could look on with indifference as to the meaning, instances this text as one in which—

"[4] Protestants are obliged to deny appearances which seem to favour some particular tenets of Roman Catholicism."

Now I believe that the points which Veron speaks of as not being defined, include most of the subjects which indispose our people to look at such a passage in the face, or make them take up with some inadequate explanation of it. If any one calls to mind what statements of the sufferings of Purgatory are pronounced by the following declarations of Veron not to be "de fide," he would feel what a mass of repugnance would be rolled off, if those declarations should, as matter of charity, be made authoritative.

"[5] It is not of faith, 1) That there is in purgatory a material fire; nor, 2) That purgatory is in such or such a definite place; nor, 3) That the intensity of the pains endured there are such or such."

Other objections would be removed by the two remaining statements, which are opposed to the notion of "lucrativeness," which writers among us impute to the doctrine of Purgatory.

[4] "Essays and Reviews," On the Interpretation of Scripture, p. 366.

[5] In P. Nampon, p. 710.

"It is not of faith that, 5) The Sacrifice of the Mass always remits to souls in purgatory the pains which they suffer, and *that* according to a definite law and in virtue of a Divine promise, or, in scholastic language, *ex opere operato;* nor, 6) That there is a certain law, according to which the prayers of the living benefit the dead."

For we carry our human feelings even into the province of the awful holiness of God; and an unspiritual and mechanical undevout bargaining with God is more likely to find room, where any thing which we do on earth is supposed to have an assigned or fixed value with God.

The two eminent, peace-loving brothers, the Bishops De Walenburch, make the like limitation as to what is "de fide" thereon:—

"[6] We and Protestants agree, 1) That all souls do not, after this life, undergo the punishment of Purgatory; and so, that some souls after a man's death go up straight to heaven, others are sent straight to hell. 2) That after the Day of Judgment there will be no more Purgatory, and only two perpetual places, heaven and hell. 3) That in the other life souls cannot be reconciled to God by grace, if they have departed this life in mortal sin without such reconciliation. 4) That Christ is the cleansing from our sins, '[7] making [having made] a cleansing of sins;' where the question is as to the Person Who cleanseth, not of the place of cleansing. 5) That tribulations of this life, as also death, may be called the 'cleansing of sins,' whence it is clear that there are various meanings of the word 'purgatorium,' and *which* belongs to this place.

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[6] De Unit. Eccl. L. 13, Tract. v. contr. i. n. 4, 5. T. ii. p. 274.

[7] Heb. i. 3.

"It is no question of faith between us and the Protestants, 1) Where Purgatory is; 2) How long souls are detained there; 3) Of what sort its fire will be—whether corporeal, or of the same kind as our fire, or different; 4) Whether the fire of Purgatory is equally hot, burning, and afflictive as the fire of hell; 5) How that fire acts on the disembodied soul; 6) Whether the pain of Purgatory is distinguished in duration only from the pains of hell; 7) How grave the pains are which souls suffer there. For these and the like questions, although they are at times treated of usefully and fruitfully (the bond of charity unimpaired) among scholastic doctors, as may be seen in Bellarmine and others, yet the Council of Trent[s] guards against such questions being curiously raised among the rude or simple people, commanding that those things should be proposed and treated of, which are most certain and labour under no appearance of falsehood."

But, most of all, I cannot but think that S. Catherine of Genoa must have been raised up by God, and carried through those unutterable sufferings which were penetrated with that unspeakable, God-infused love, in order to exhibit in a new light that preparation for the sight of God, whereby imperfect souls, amid inexpressible joy and felicity, are taught by an unendurable pining for Him, amid the temporary delay of that sight, what a misery it is for the soul to have had any object but the Living God.

The point of difference between her exhibition of the doctrine, and that common at the time of the Reformation, does not relate to the question whether sufferings in the intermediate state be "the pain of *loss*" (i. e. the delay of the vision of

[s] Sess. 25.

God, the bliss of which the soul, having at its judgment beheld the Face of Christ, must in some measure know), or whether there be further "pain of sense," hinted at by the word "fire." It is rather that the doctrine, as commonly exhibited in præ-Reformation writers, was, as Faber admitted that it is, "not a complete one." It exhibits only the dark side of the doctrine, the awfulness of sin and the strict justice of God. The representation of S. Catherine of Genoa combined vividly the belief of the inexpressible joy and felicity of the most imperfect soul which yet, by the mercy and longsuffering of God, is saved, and yet of suffering. Such souls, according to her doctrine, even while unadmitted to the sight of God, have unspeakable joy—joy beyond all possible joy in this present life, from the certainty of their salvation, from their being confirmed in grace and love, from the impossibility of their ever again, by the very slightest motion of their will, willing any thing but the all-holy Will of God, and from the unspeakable love infused into them by God. They know that, by the immutable decree of God, they shall be admitted to see and love God, and to be filled with His love, and *that* for eternity, of which they know something, because they are already in it. The soul knows also that this delay is devised by the mercy of God, because she is not yet fit to "endure that excessive Goodness and that exquisite Justice." And so it is not content only, but full of joy. "I do not believe," she says, "that

it is possible to find a contentment to compare with that of the soul in Purgatory, unless it be the contentment of the saints in Paradise. This contentment increases daily through the influx of God into those souls, and this influx increases as the impediment is consumed and worn away. Indeed, so far as the will is concerned, we can hardly say that the pains are pains at all, so contentedly do the souls rest in the ordinance of God, to whose will their love unites them."

The prayers also for them, and especially the remembrance of them at the Altar, are represented by her, not only as hastening the time when they shall behold God, but as a present consolation—agreeing herein with S. Anselm's prayer (as it is thought[9]) in the "Præparatio ad Missam,—

"We pray Thee also, O Lord, Holy Father, for the spirits of the faithful departed, that this great Sacrament of piety may be to them salvation, health, joy, and refreshment. O my God, be there to them this day a great and full Feast of Thee, the Living Bread, Who camest down from Heaven and givest life to the world, of Thy Holy and Blessed Flesh, the Lamb without spot, Who takest away the sins of the world, which was taken from the holy and glorious womb of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and was conceived of the Holy Ghost; and of that Fountain of piety which, through the soldier's lance, flowed

[9] The Benedictine Editors pronounce it not to be S. Ambrose's (Opp. T. ii. App. col. 489, 490), whose name it bears in the Roman Missal and Breviary; and Gerberon ascribes it to S. Anselm, on the authority of a number of MSS., "non ignobilioris notæ," and on the ground of identity of style. Censura. Orationis xxix. prefixed to S. Anselm's works.

from Thy most Sacred Side, that, thence recreated and satiated, refreshed and comforted, they may exult in Thy praise and glory."

Such a full conviction of their peace and joy—peace and joy passing every conceivable joy in this world, for which, if it were the Will of God, any would most thankfully exchange any condition in this world, enables us to contemplate without horror any consequences of God's awful Holiness. We cannot wish God to be less holy than He is. And our own consciences may tell us that, our repentance for our sins having been very imperfect, and our own longings for the sight of God, amid this whirl of duties and religious interests, such as we do not like to think of, we are not fit to behold Him. This, perhaps, more than the direct dread of hell, is the source of the fear of death to many. They trust in God's mercy in Christ, that they shall be saved; but they feel themselves unfit to enter into His Presence. To be admitted into any vestibule of His Presence, where they can sin no more, and, by longing for that Beatific Vision, may be for ever freed from the slough which has clung to them in this life,—this is not too high for their hopes; the thought of this unspeakably allays their fears[1]. As often happens, it is the imperfect exhibition of a doctrine, which creates the prejudice

[1] It would be expected of such a humble soul as that of the Author of the Christian Year, that the prospect of such a preparation was an unspeakable comfort to him within a year of his death. He expressed it both to myself and to others.

against it. The omission causes it, as it is presented to men's minds, to be out of harmony with something stated in Holy Scripture, or to make it unnatural. If once that same authority, which insists on the sufferings in the intermediate state, will also lay down with equal distinctness and prominence, that the most imperfect soul, which yet parts from this world in a state of grace, has, after the suspense, it may be, of the Day of Judgment, unspeakable joy, even while through its sins and negligences it has brought upon itself unspeakable, though temporary suffering, I believe that Purgatory would no longer be one of those chords which are struck by anti-Roman controversialists, and vibrate through the deepest depths of the human heart. On the contrary, I think that, while that belief would check the flatteries bestowed on the deceased, whereby people shut their eyes to the antecedents of their whole life, and dwell upon some word, or look, or sign on the death-bed, it would to very many be an unspeakable relief. Now, our people seem to have only the choice of thinking that those they love are in paradise or hell, or a hell-like purgatory (for as such it has been exhibited to them); and so, shrinking back from the two last, they imagine their friends translated by the mere fact of death to the Beatific Vision; or, if they have misgivings as to their being at once fitted for *this* bliss of eternity, they have only in their ears the awful words, "Depart, ye cursed."

We must all know many souls, the brightness of whose joy has been overclouded for years by the doubt as to some loved brother, "Was he saved?" The thought has been an ever-returning spectre, haunting them. If the Church of Rome would boldly cast aside the fear that, should the living come to think of the imperfect souls departed as in a state of less unmitigated suffering, or, notwithstanding those sufferings, as being in joy and felicity and peace unspeakable, they would be less careful to pray for them, or to obtain for them the remembrance at the Altar, they would have, in this respect, thrown down, as far as in them lay, the barrier between us.

This office of removing the difficulties of "Protestants" has been aforetime contemplated as intended by the Providence of God for the work of S. Catherine of Genoa. The pious Archbishop of Paris, Hardouin Péréfixe, towards the close of the seventeenth century, is quoted by the Bollandist fathers as saying of that work,—

"[2] It is a rare effusion of the Spirit of God into this soul, so pure and burning with love, and an admirable monument of the tender care of God in governing His Church. For, foreseeing that the doctrine of purgatory and of the suffrages for the dead would be attacked by the heresy of Luther and Calvin—He revealed secrets of the sublimest truth to a Matron

[2] Preface to a French work on 'Christian piety to the departed,' quoted in the Life of S. Catherine of Genoa, "Acta Sanctorum Sept." T. v. p. 127.

of extraordinary virtue and piety, whom, among those who lived in this century, He selected to that end—to defend the truth of faith against heretics, and to instruct Catholics.—The method in which she wrote is so worthy of the majesty of God and the sublimity of our religion, that it cannot but be that those who read that tract will admire *His* Providence Who is pleased to conceal His secrets from the wise and prudent of this world, and reveals them to the humble, and sometimes elevates the weaker sex to a knowledge of the loftiest truths, &c. And to show the conformity of the mind of the great Beata with the sayings of the Fathers, it is related in few words what S. Bernard says of Purgatory in some places of his works, &c."

S. François de Sales was, so to speak, a disciple of S. Catherine, through the study of her devout works, and is reported to have spoken of her with titles[3] expressive of admiration of her wisdom and burning love. His own disciple, M. de Belley, who studied her work at S. Fr. de Sales' advice, gave the doctrine, I suppose, a wider circulation than it had through S. Catherine's own writings. M. de Belley employed it successfully to remove the objections of French Protestants. He writes,—

"[4] His [S. Francis'] opinion was, that we might derive more ground of consolation than apprehension from the thought of Purgatory. Most of those (he said) who so fear Purgatory do so in view of their own interest and of their self-love, rather than for the interest of God. What causes this, is that preachers who speak of it ordinarily represent the sufferings of

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[3] "Cherubim, Seraphim, Phœnix, and Bird of Paradise." Acta S. Ib. p. 128, from Parpera, "B. Catherina illustrata."

[4] Esprit de S. Fr. de Sales, P. xvi. c. 9.

that place, not the happiness and peace enjoyed by the souls there.

"It is true that its torments are so great that the extremest dolours of this life cannot be compared with them, but also the inward satisfactions there are such, that no prosperity or contentment on earth can equal them.

"1. Souls there are in continual union with God.

"2. They are in perfect submission to His Will; or, rather, their will is in such wise transformed into that of God, that they can only will what God wills; so that, if Paradise were open to them, they would rather plunge themselves into hell than appear before God with the stains which they still see in themselves.

"3. They embrace their purifying voluntarily and lovingly, since such is the Divine good-pleasure.

"4. They will to be there, in what manner it shall please God, and for as long as it shall please Him.

"5. They are impeccable, and cannot have the slightest movement of impatience, or commit the least imperfection.

"6. They love God more than themselves or than any thing, with a love perfected, pure, and disinterested.

"7. They are there comforted by the Angels.

"8. They are there assured of their salvation, in a hope which cannot be confounded in its expectation.

"9. Their very bitter grief is in midst of a very deep peace.

"10. If it is a sort of hell as to dolour, it is a paradise as to the sweetness which charity diffuses in their heart; charity, stronger than death and mightier than hell, whose lamps are all of fire and flames.

"11. Blessed state, to be desired rather than dreaded, since those flames are flames of love and charity.

"12. To be dreaded notwithstanding, since they delay the end of all consummation, which is, to see God and to love Him; and, through this fear and this love, to praise and glorify Him through the whole extent of eternity.

"On this subject he strongly counselled to read the admirable treatise on Purgatory by S. Catherine of Genoa. At his advice I have often read and re-read it attentively, and never without fresh pleasure and fresh light; and I own that I never read any

thing which so entirely satisfied me. I have even invited some Protestants to read it, who were very well satisfied with it; one, who was a very learned man, declared to me that if this treatise had been shown him before his conversion, he should have been more moved by it than by all disputations which he had had on the subject.

"'If this is so,' I shall be asked, 'why then so recommend the souls in purgatory?'

"Because, notwithstanding these advantages, the condition of these souls is very dolorous and truly worthy of our compassion; and, besides, the glory which they will render to God in heaven is delayed. These two motives ought to induce us to obtain for them a speedy deliverance by our prayers, our fasts, our alms, and all kinds of good works, but particularly by the offering of the Sacrifice of the holy Mass."

The special character of the work of S. Catherine was recognized also in the Carthusian preface to the translation of her life:—

"Of two things, which the common and universal faith teacheth to be united in the piacular fire, viz. love and punishment, she is silent about punishment, as *being more common and necessary for weak and imperfect minds*, and considers the love only, chiefly as attaining its stupendous effects."

And this peculiar representation of those sufferings all who dwell upon it speak of as unfolded to her by God through her own sufferings.

"From the comparison of the Divine fire which she experienced in herself, she understood of what sort is that piacular fire, and in what way the souls live in it, contented and tormented."

And "[5] in the old life of her, the 'Via Antica' examined by theologians in 1670, and approved in the Roman process of her

[5] Faber, "All for Jesus," p. 349.

canonization, and which was composed by Marabotto, her confessor, and Vernazza, her spiritual son, it is said;

"Verily it seems that God set up this His creature as a mirror and an example of the pains of the other life which souls suffer in purgatory. It is just as if He had placed her upon a high wall, dividing this life from the life to come; so that, seeing what is suffered in that life beyond, she might manifest to us, even in this life, what we are to expect when we have passed the boundary."

Yet her work was one of the instances, where the value of what is done for God in this life is not recognized until long afterwards. "Serit arbores quæ alteri prosint sæculo." The first translation of her works (which was into French) was eighty-eight years after her death; a Latin translation followed, twenty-eight years later. In this country it was translated only eleven years ago. Alban Butler, who mentions the work, yet gives no account of it, and only says, "These treatises [this and the Dialogue on the Love of God] are not writ for the common class of readers."

Louis Venegas, who, A.D. 1626, wrote the "Approbation" of her life, and who calls it "a golden book," still speaks as deprecating possible, though unfounded, censure :—

"[6] Although I have found many things which at first sight will seem harsh to theologians, I have found none which do not admit of a sound sense, and which may not be turned to the benefit and spiritual profit of the readers."

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[6] Quoted in the Acta S. Ib. p. 126.

Baillet, in his (I suppose) somewhat popular lives of the saints, still followed, probably, a current opinion about her, when he imputed to her life, untruly, a tendency to favour quietism, although he ascribes it to her biographers, and recommends the study of her own works as correcting it[7].

The title of the book, as first published, implies that there was something so special in the form of the doctrine as to partake of the character of a revelation from God. "[8] It is entitled, 'A book of the admirable doctrine of Bl. Catherine of Genoa, in which is contained an useful and Catholic demonstration and declaration of Purgatory.' In the title-page the saint is represented kneeling before our Lord on the Cross, with the words in S. Matthew, 'I thank Thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes.'" The treatise on Purgatory was omitted in the Venice editions[9], as well as in a later Spanish translation, in which the treatise on Divine love was included[1]. Probably owing to the small number printed, Sticker, the Bollandist writer of her life, could not obtain a sight of any of the old

[7] In his "Table Critique" prefixed to the lives. T. iii. col. xvi. xvii.

[8] Parpera in B. Cath. illustrata. Pt. c. 1. n. 8. Act. Sanctor. l. c. p. 125.

[9] A.D. 1590, 1601, 1615. It was in the Florence edd., 1568, 1580, 1589.

[1] A.D. 1647.

editions[2]. It seems also agreed that its larger influence dates from S. François de Sales' enthusiastic commendation of it. But it was in the latter part of the next century that it received the approval of the Sorbonne (A. 1666); the authentic approbation of the work by the Congregation of rites at Rome was not until 1675. Bellarmine, although he extols the Beata personally in his "[3] De Arte Moriendi," takes no notice of her doctrine of Purgatory. Since the time of S. Fr. de Sales it has had influence even outside the Roman communion. Perrone traces to it the confession of Leibnitz,—

"[4] Almost all agree in a fatherly chastisement or purifying after this life (of whatsoever sort it be) which the souls themselves, on their departure from the body, being illumined, and seeing thoroughly then the imperfection of their past life and the foulness of sin, touched with exceeding sorrow, invite to themselves willingly, and would not wish to attain in any other way to the summit of beatitude. For many have excellently noted that this purifying affliction of the soul, thinking over its acts, is voluntary; among others there is a remarkable passage of [Luis] of Grenada, which brought great consolation to Philip II. in his last illness."

Perrone himself lays down in much the same terms as Veron and the De Walenburchs the points which are alone de fide and what are not de fide; among

[2] Acta S. I. c. [3] Præf. fin.

[4] System. Theol. p. 350, quoted by Perrone, "De Deo Creatore," P. 3. c. 6. art. 2, p. 309, note. He subjoins, "These things he seems to have drawn from that most beautiful tract which S. Catherine of Genoa wrote on Purgatory."

the alternative allowed beliefs is that of S. Catherine,—

"[5] As to Purgatory, these two points only are "de fide;" 1) its existence; 2) the benefit of suffrages. All then which relate to place, duration, quality of punishment, do not at all belong to the Catholic faith, or have not been defined by the Church. Whether there is any determined place or no; where it is; whether souls are to be detained in purgatory a short or long time; whether the fire of purgatory is material or metaphorical, i. e. whether it consists in a certain sadness of the soul, arising from the consideration of the past life, the foulness of sin, or other causes, on ground of which this purifying affliction is voluntary and much longed for by them."

In this aspect, I think that the doctrine of a temporary delay after death, in which the soul should be prepared for the sight of God, would commend itself to the consciences of any who had ever meditated on the greatness and holiness of God. We are, up to the last moment upon earth, how unlike God! Could we bear, amid our unlikeness, to gaze on *His* All-Holiness, before Whom the Seraphim hide their faces? True that God could "in an instant," as S. Macarius thought, "[6]sever death from the soul (for this is not difficult for Him), and take thee to His Bosom and to light." But our own consciences mostly will not let us think it. Hence Perrone observes that—

"Protestants admitted a purgatory, or state of 'expiation,' which they call 'a school of preparation.'" "If you mention

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[5] l. c. p. 308.

[6] Hom. 26. Resp. 20. Gall. vii. 99, 100.

Purgatory to any Protestant, he kindles up; but if you ask the same person, whether or no a state of 'expiation,' 'epuration,' or 'a school of preparation, expectation,' &c. can be admitted, he will readily grant it you; yea, sometimes he contends vehemently that such a state is to be admitted[7]. Such is the power of words."

Yet surely the difference is not of words only. The word "Purgatory" recalls to our mind that picture of unmitigated, unconsoled suffering, which Faber speaks of as "not complete." And the Church of Rome is not asked to reject the word "Purgatory," but to explain it, as it has been explained by some of her accredited writers, as a condition "in which souls at the same time experience the greatest happiness and the most excessive pain; and the one does not prevent the other."

If this one-sided representation were removed, I think that our people would be more open, not only to the meaning of that passage of S. Paul, but to a further meaning of others, of which we accept a traditional interpretation, which does not give

[7] l. c. p. 319. Perrone alleges "Koeppen *Philosophia Christianismi*, Vol. ii., who transcribes entire texts of Planck from his *Verba Pacis*, Horst, from his *Mysteriosophia*, Meyer, &c., whom Hollaz *Examen Theol.*, p. 1221, and Quenstaedt *Theol. Did.* T. iv. p. 377 sqq. and Holst, *Warum beten wir für die Verstorbenen?* and others, had preceded. "But all" (he adds) "agree in saying, that it is too violent to admit at once into heaven all those who only repented of their past evil life at the end, or who indulged too much in the sensualities of this life, since 'nothing defiled' enters there; also it is too harsh to assign all such to eternal torments."

their words apparently their fullest force. For when our Lord says, "I say that thou shalt not go forth thence, until thou hast paid the very last mite[8]," the word "until" seems to suggest that there will be a time when such shall go forth. And when S. John tells us that "[9] All creatures, in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth," join in that ascription of "blessing, and honour, and glory, and might to Him that sitteth upon the throne and to the Lamb," surely those are right who include in that chorus of thanksgiving, "the departed spirits," who are not yet, like the angels, and martyrs, and glorified saints, in heaven[1]. And if so, then from both alike, though not equally, there ascends the song of adoring thanksgiving.

I should add that it has been pointed out to me, that Bellarmine[2] regards as "not improbable" the doctrine involved in a vision related by Bede, II. E., v. 137, as "not improbable," which vision Bellarmine says is "very probable, and Bede himself hesitated not to believe it. In it there was shown to a soul which afterwards returned to the body, besides hell and purgatory, and the kingdom of heaven, as it were a meadow very flowery, full of light, fragrant, pleasant, in which souls

[8] S. Luke xii. 58. [9] Rev. v. 13.

[1] So Dean Alford, too: "the departed spirits in Hades" as distinct from those in heaven; "the angels and the glorified saints."—Ad loc.

[2] De Purg. ii. 7.

lived, which suffered nothing, but yet remained there, as not being yet fit for the Divine vision. To which revelation Denys, the Carthusian, adduces many other conformable (De Judicio Particulari, art. 31), and S. Gregory (Dial. iv. 36)." Bellarmine thinks that this place is "the mildest part of Purgatory; and, as it were, a sort of senatorial and honourable prison."

Also that "Bail, whose book is well known and well recommended," says, "[3] Some souls are not

[3] S. Thomas en Méditation, T. v. (*Des Sacram.* Méd. 33.) p. 265. Elsewhere Bail says, "Consider that, according to some, purgatory has two parts, one, in which the souls suffer the pains of sense through the fire which torments them, and that pain of loss, because they are deprived of the vision of God. The other is that, in which the souls are only tormented by the pain of loss, and are greatly afflicted at the privation of the vision of God, which they desire with inexpressible desires. The Exstatic Doctor puts this as a controverted point; and, adducing many proofs on both sides, is unwilling to resolve it affirmatively, feeling, on the one side, a difficulty in asserting any thing positively against the common opinion of doctors who make no mention of this second part of purgatory, and on the other, being unable to call fantastic or lying the revelations and visions which sanction this purgatory, so long as the Church pronounces nothing; because, he says, those who have taken down and approved these visions were very learned and very religious men, and some of them wise doctors in Theology. But others have held it to be certain, calling this part of purgatory an earthly Paradise or purgatory of desire, where souls sigh for the vision of God with a very ardent desire, which causes them to suffer marvellously at seeing themselves kept from reaching this Sovereign Good." Then, having mentioned the visions in S. Gregory and Bede, he dwells on the statement of S. Brigit, who "divides purgatory, as it were, into

otherwise punished than by the grief which they feel at the delay and retarding of their felicity; of which S. Brigit cites an instance."

k) *Deutero-Canonical Books.*

In regard to the Old Testament, our Sixth Article follows, not a mere insulated saying of S. Jerome, but one which embodies in the main a good deal of tradition before him, and which has been accepted by writers of acknowledged weight to the very verge of the Council of Trent[4]. The

three stages, of which the first is filled with horrible torment and terrible creatures which torment the souls; the second, where they are punished with a certain weakness, until they be delivered by the prayers of their friends or the suffrages of the Church; the third, in which there is no other pain than the desire of arriving at the presence of God and the beatific vision of Him. Here many of those who, in the world, had not a perfect desire to arrive at the presence of God and the beatific vision of Him, remain very long; and she adds that few of those who have lived well escape this last." Then, having dwelt on the examination of S. Brigit's visions at the Council of Constance, and Bellarmine's defence of this last division, he says, "The thing appears very probable in itself; for one does not pass from one extremity to the other without passing through some middle. And as the purgatory, in which there is pain, both of sense and loss, contains pains very grievous and very like to those of the damned, except their duration, it is very probable that souls do not pass from this rigorous purgatory to the bliss of heaven, without previously passing through this terrestrial Paradise or purgatory of desire, where there is only the pain of loss."—De la Rés. gén., Méd. 3. T. v. pp. 344—346.

[4] See note A at the end.

Council of Trent, following S. Augustine, enumerates together the books of the Hebrew Canon and the Deutero-Canonical books written after the order of prophets closed in Malachi. Yet there is an *à priori* probability that there could be no radical difference between the meaning of those two great fathers, because none ever comes into sharp contrast, and both ways of counting the books continued down to the Council of Trent. The Council of Trullo received at the same time the Council of Laodicea, which includes in the Canon of the Old Testament those books only which were in the Hebrew Canon, and the Council of Carthage, which includes in the Canonical Scriptures the Deutero-Canonical Books also. But it would not have received together two contradictory Canons of Scripture. S. Augustine also, who, with the Council of Carthage, includes the Deutero-Canonical Books under the common title of Divine Scriptures which were to be read, elsewhere makes a distinction between some at least of the Deutero-Canonical Books and the Canon which our Lord sealed by His own authority [5]. He

[5] "It is our business, as the Apostle admonisheth, to prove all things, to hold fast the things which are good, to keep us from all evil appearance. And this Scripture, entitled of the Maccabees, the Jews have not, as they have the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, to which the Lord bears testimony, as His witnesses, saying, 'All things must needs be fulfilled which were written in the Law, and the Prophets, and the Psalms concerning Me;' but which was received in the Church, not without benefit, if it be read and heard soberly, and chiefly for the sake of those Maccabees, who, for the law of God, as true

challenged the Donatists to "[6] demonstrate their Church in the commands of the Law, in the predictions of the Prophets, in the canticles of the Psalms, in the words of Himself the One Shepherd, and in the preaching and labours of the Evangelists; i. e. in all the canonical authorities of the sacred books. In two places, also, in which he mentions the Maccabees, he assigns the same reason why the Church had received them into the Canon, as S. Jerome gave for the Deutero-Canonical Books generally, viz. the edifying histories of the martyrdom of the Maccabees[7]. Singularly the two books

martyrs, suffered from the persecutors such unworthy and horrible things; that hence, too, the Christian people might observe that 'the sufferings of this time are not worthy [to be accounted of] in regard of the future glory which shall be revealed in us, for whom Christ suffered,' if *they* endured so great things most patiently for the law which God gave through a servant to those to whom He not yet given the Son" (S. Aug. con. Ep. Gaud. Donat. i. 31, T. ix. 655, 656). In his Epistle to Dulcitius (Ep. 204, n. 6. T. ii. 766) he speaks of the Maccabees in a somewhat disparaging tone. "But, it must be confessed, that, as to that elder Razius, whom, straitened by the most extreme destitution of examples, they, after having minutely searched all Ecclesiastical authorities, scarcely at length boast that they have found in the books of the Maccabees an authority for the wickedness whereby they destroy themselves, I remember I have never yet answered them."

[6] Ep. c. Donat. c. 18, n. 47, T. ix. 371.

[7] "The reckoning of the Jews (from the restoration of the Temple) is found, not in the Holy Scriptures, which are called 'canonical,' but in others, among which are also the books of the Maccabees which, not the Jews, but the Church has counted canonical, on account of some vehement and wonderful passions

do not occur in the Greek copies of the Canon of the 3rd Council of Carthage [8], though they do occur in S. Augustine's enumeration of the *whole* Canon of Scripture.

In the Council of Carthage, again, the emphasis is as to the books which were "to be read." The Canon closes, "[9] Let this be made known to our brother and fellow-Bishop, Boniface, or other Bishops of those parts, for confirming that Canon, because we have received from the fathers, that these things were to be *read* in the Church." The Canon adds further, "Be it lawful for the Passions of the martyrs to be *read*, when their anniversaries are to be celebrated. S. Augustine distinguishes, as you know, the three books of Solomon from Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, stating that these had been of old received into authority, "chiefly by the Western Church;" and then, after

of martyrs, who, before Christ came in the flesh, strove even unto death for the law of God, and endured most grave and horrible ills."—De Civ. Dei, xviii. 36, T. vii. 519, and ab. Note 5.

[8] "The Greek copies of this Canon, those of Zonaras, Balsamon, and one MS. of the Canons of the Greek Church, the ed. Tillii, A. 1546, and the two Greek, also, of Binius, and the ed. regia, omit the two books of the Maccabees." "They are not in the Colbert MS. or ours, but they are in the Codex Pithœan., and in Augustine (De Doct. Xt. ii. 8 Retract. ii. 4), who was also present at this 3rd Council of Carthage. See too De Civ. Dei, xviii. 36."

[9] Conc. Carth. iii. 47, inserted in the Cod. Eccl. Afr. A. 419, but without the clause about the Passions of the Martyrs.

alleging the picture of the conspiracy of the wicked against the just, as a prophecy of the Passion of our Lord, he adds, in language which reminds us of S. Jerome, "But against gainsayers those things are not adduced with so much firmness, which are not written in the Canon of the Jews."

Yet he believed that in some sense they were a Divine authority. It was reported to him that the semi-Pelagians had said, "[1] That attestation which thou hast put down, 'He was taken away, lest wickedness should change his understanding,' they define ought to be omitted, as not canonical." He does not assert, in answer, that it was canonical, in the sense in which the objectors meant. He justifies the saying as true in itself. "This then being so, this saying of the Book of Wisdom ought not to be rejected, which [book] hath merited during so long a period to be recited in the Church of Christ from the place of Readers of the Church of Christ, and to be heard by all Christians, by Bishops to the lowest of the faithful laity, penitents, catechumens, with the veneration of Divine authority." He appeals to them, that they would listen to "[2] those who treated on the Divine Scriptures before them; that they ought to prefer this Book of Wisdom to all those writers, since those excellent writers nearest to the times of the Apostles, preferred it to them-

[1] Hilarii Ep. (136 inter Aug. Opp. ii. 827, and x. 789).

[2] De Prædest. Sanctt. nn. 27—29.

selves, and, employing it as a testimony, believed that they were employing no other than a Divine testimony." He explains S. Cyprian's quotation of the passage, to which he had alluded; shows the meaning to be indisputable; "nor, on ground of that saying, ought the Book of Wisdom, which for such a number of years has merited to be read in the Church of Christ, in which book this too is read, because it resists those who exalt wrongly human merits." He again appeals to the evident truth involved in the saying, since otherwise "it would nowise have benefited those who die having lapsed, had they died before, which no Christian would dare to say. Wherefore our brethren, who contend with us for the Catholic faith against the pernicious Pelagian error, ought not so far to favour the Pelagian opinion, that the grace of God is given according to our merits, as to endeavour (which those cannot venture on) to overthrow a sentiment altogether true and Christian of old, and to build up what I suppose no one would—I say not, believe, but—even dream of, that the dead would each be judged according to those things which he would have done, had he lived."

So, I think, would not S. Augustine have maintained the authority of any passage of the primary Canon. I can hardly think that S. Augustine would have said of books in the highest sense Divine, "since, however, they have *merited* to be received among the authoritative books, they must be classed

among the prophetical," or "it had merited to be recited during so long a period of years by the readers in the Church of Christ;" or that "the Books of the Maccabees, although not considered by the Jews in the same light as the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, to which the Lord gave His testimony, had been received by the Church, not without advantage, if read and heard discreetly." Again, in his classical passage, in which he speaks of books more or less received, yet comprehended in the Canon in its largest compass (totus Canon) he seems to me, from some expressions, to refer chiefly to the Deutero-Canonical Books. He says,—

"[3] He will be the most skilled investigator of the Divine Scriptures, who should first read and become acquainted with all and each (totas) at least by reading, if not as yet by full understanding; those, at least, which are called Canonical. For the rest he will read with less risk when instructed in the faith of truth, lest they should pre-occupy his mind while yet weak, and, deceiving by dangerous falsehoods and phantasms, should pre-judge any thing against sound understanding. But in the Canonical Scriptures let him follow the authority of most Catholic Churches, among which are those which were found worthy to have Apostolic Sees and to receive Epistles. He will then adhere to this method in the Canonical Scriptures, to prefer those which are received by all Catholic Churches to those which some do not receive; but in those which are not received by all, let him prefer those which the more and graver receive to those which fewer Churches and of less authority hold. But if he discover some to be held by more, others by

[3] De Doctr. Christ. ii. 8.

graver (although he probably will not find this), I think that they should be held to be of equal authority.

"The *whole* Canon of Scripture, in which we say that this consideration ought to be employed, is contained in these books, Genesis," &c.

For although the Epistle to the Hebrews would come under one of these classes, since S. Augustine says of it, "[4] Most say that it is the Apostle Paul's, but some deny it," the rule which he lays down shows that he held more to be in question than one single book; and there was in his time no doubt as to the Revelation, of which he says simply "[5] the same John the Evangelist, in the book which is called Apocalypse." And the extreme caution which he gives, and the danger which he apprehends from an unripe study of the books, fall in with what he says elsewhere as to the Books of the Maccabees, and the need that they should be read soberly, since the example of Razis was pleaded for the excesses of the fanatical Donatists. If this be so, S. Augustine employs the term "the Canonical Scriptures" of a smaller portion than he includes in the term "the whole Canon," in which he includes the Deutero-Canonical Books of the Old Testament.

The division of sacred books in S. Jerome corresponds to this distinction in S. Augustine. Both agree as to what books are read in the Church; both have a distinction within that larger Canon

[4] De Civ. Dei, xvi. 22, fin.

[5] Ib. xx. 7. 1.

of books which are to be read; and both, I think, use the title "Canonical Scriptures" in a more limited sense, including therein those books only upon which our Lord set His seal. To take one passage only, wherein the words of our Article occur. Having spoken of the two Books of Wisdom, "the book of Jesus, son of Sirach, and another wrongly-entitled, which is inscribed 'the Wisdom of Solomon,' which some of the old writers affirm to be Philo the Jew," he adds,—

"[6] As, then, the Church reads Judith, Tobit, and the books of the Maccabees, but does not receive them among the Canonical Scriptures, so she may read these two volumes for the edification of the people, not to confirm the authority of dogmas of the Church."

Yet, although he adhered to this distinction, in not alleging these books to establish the great central doctrines of the faith, yet he quotes the two Books of Wisdom, as Scripture or Divine Scripture [7], and frequently cites them indiscriminately with the Canonical Books [8]; he calls the writers of them

[6] Prol. ii. lib. Salom. T. ix. col. 1293.

[7] *Ecclesiasticus*, as "Divine Scripture" (Ep. 118, ad Julian. n. 1. T. 1. p. 786 Vall.); "Sacred Scripture," in proof that no one may be called happy before death (in Is. L. ii. c. 3. T. iv. p. 57): *Wisdom*, "audiamus Scripturam monentem," with the Psalms (in Is. L. xvi. c. 56 v. fin. Ib. p. 663). He quotes Ecclesiasticus as among "our books" with Proverbs, in contrast to the Greek poets, "illud in nostris libris legimus" (in Is. L. ii. c. 3. ib. p. 50).

[8] *Ecclesiasticus* is quoted with the formula "scriptum est" (not to provoke the sinner by answering him) with the Psalms

prophets[9]; he speaks of the *commands* which we have in Ecclesiasticus[1]; alleges it repeatedly in proof of the use of charity to purify the soul[2]. He

(in Is. xi. c. 7. T. iv. 458); "de quibus scriptum est" (that the great should be humble) with words of our Lord in S. Luke (in Ezek. L. vi. c. 18. T. v. p. 207); "scriptum est" (of the depth of the wisdom of God) with Romans (ib. L. xiii. c. 43. p. 526); "in alio loco scriptum est" (of the use of the right and the left for good and bad) with Ezekiel (ib. c. 4 p. 42); "in alio loco scribitur" (on trials in serving God) after S. James, and then "rursum idem Jacobus loquitur" (adv. Jovin. ii. 3. T. ii. p. 326). He quotes it with S. Luke (Ep. 118 ad Julian. n. 4. T. i. p. 788), and the same passage in proof that fasting was an occasion of temptation "secundum illud" (in Matt. L. i. c. 4. T. vii. 20). He joins it and a Psalm (of detraction falling on the detractor's head) "illudque completur,—et alibi" with Prov. (Ep. 125. ad Rustic. Mon., n. 19. T. i. p. 940). He subjoins to our Lord's words (on humility) "et in alio loco sermo ad sanctos dirigitur" (in Soph. ii. 3. T. vi. p. 697). *Wisdom* he quotes with Proverbs, "scriptum est" (in Is. L. ii. c. 3 T. iv. p. 48), and "de istiusmodi anima dicitur," "et in alio loco legimus" as the same teaching as Hosea (in Os. L. ii. c. 9. T. vi. p. 102) and in explanation of Jeremiah (in Jerem. L. v. c. 28 T. iv. p. 1042) and the same passage, "Salomone testante" (perhaps thinking of the like passage in Prov. xx. 29, which he blends with it in Is. L. ii. l. c.) Ep. 50 ad Paullin. T. i. p. 317.

[9] Of *Ecclesiasticus*, "Quod aliis verbis Propheta demonstrat" (Præf. in L. xvi. in Is. T. iv. p. 666). Of *Wisdom*, "Alio propheta loquente" (in Jerem. i. 7. ib. p. 838).

[1] "Dato nobis itaque præcepto quod dicit,—servemus mandata ut panem et vinum spiritualia invenire poterimus" in Eccl. ix. 7. T. iii. 462; with a law of Moses, "nec servant illud Mosaicum," then of Ecclus. vii. 6, "aliudque mandatum" in Is. L. ii. c. 3. T. iv. p. 55.

[2] With the formula, "sciens scriptum," Ep. 66 ad Pammach. n. 5. T. i. p. 395; "although it is much to have practised

combines the Wisdom of Solomon with "that prophetic and Apostolic saying" (Ps. cxvi. 11, Rom. iii. 4) to prove that man cannot fulfil the law sufficiently[3]. He instances it as showing that "the Spirit" alone may signify the Holy Spirit[4], and that the Holy Spirit flees the sinful soul[5]; he quotes it as declaring that God hateth nothing which He made[6], and, together with our Lord's words, that much will be expected where much has been given[7].

I may quote here in illustration, not for you but for ourselves, the practice of Origen, Eusebius, S. Athanasius, S. Hilary, S. Cyril of Jerusalem, S. Epiphanius, S. Gregory of Nazianzus, S. Amphilochius, S. Chrysostom, as writers who have left catalogues of the books, who all own no book of the Old Testament (except the Epistle of Jeremiah and the Book of Baruch) besides those in the Hebrew, as belonging to the Christian Canon. It

these" [almsgivings] "de quibus dicitur" (Ep. 79 ad Salvin. n. 5. T. i. 497), and with our Lord's words, Matt. v. 7, Luke xvi. 9, 12, and Dan. iv. (Ep. 108 ad Eustoch. n. 16. Ib. 701).

[3] "Et nesciat scriptum alio loco." Dial. c. Pelag. ii. 11. T. ii. 740.

[4] "De quo alibi scribitur" (with S. Paul). In Ep. ad Gal. L. i. c. 3. T. vii. 420.

[5] In Is. L. xvii c. 63, T. iv. 763, although, in this same place, he says that it is not Solomon's; "in Sapientia quæ nomine Salomonis inscribitur."

[6] "Dicitur quippe ad Deum." In Ep. ad Eph. L. i. c. 1. T. vii. 552.

[7] "De quibus scriptum est," in Is. L. 1. c. i. 24. T. iv. 27, and as the "sententia Salomonis," Ib. L. xviii. c. 65. p. 791.

is the result of an investigation which I made almost forty years ago, when inquiring whether the Church did or did not admit, that the Deutero-Canonical Books were written under a secondary or limited degree of inspiration.

Origen is the first writer who has left an account of the received Canon of Scripture, whose own works have also been preserved. In that Canon the Epistle of Jeremiah was the only Deutero-Canonical Book admitted [8]; others are, in different places, expressly excepted against [9]. Yet there is scarce a form in which Scripture could have been quoted, in which some of the Deutero-Canonical Books are not alleged [1], and that not for moral precepts only,

[8] In Ps. i. T. ii. p. 528. Also in Eus. H. E. vi. 25.

[9] As, that "the Hebrews do not use Tobit and Judith, and have them not even among the Apocrypha in Hebrew, although Tobit was used by the Church" (Ep. ad Afric. n. 13. T. i. p. 26). And of the Song of the Three Children in Daniel, he says, "they marked it with an obelus, as not being in the Hebrew, and those of the circumcision speak against the Book of Tobit, as not being in the Canon" (De Orat. n. 14. T. i. p. 220). Of "The Wisdom which is called Solomon's," he says that it was "not held of authority among all" (De Princip. iv. 33. T. i. p. 192), and again quotes a passage from it with the clause, εἴ τις προσίεται καὶ τὸ (In Joann. Tom. 28. n. 13. T. iv. p. 388).

[1] In the citations from Origen, I have avoided the use of any doubtful authorities, as the extracts from Catenæ; and of those which only exist in the translation of Rufinus, I have employed only what he has professed to have translated literally, the Homilies on Joshua, Judges, and on Ps. 36—38; and even here I have omitted such as "sicut dicit Scriptura," which are occasionally inadvertently inserted in Latin translations, but only a comment. See, e. g. T. i. pp. 97 and 123, Ruffin. Interpr.,

or for the regulation of the mind with reference to God, but sometimes for doctrines also. Wisdom [2]

where the Greek has been preserved. The same has often taken place in Latin translations of the Fathers.

[2] Thus the Wisdom of Solomon is twice quoted as, "That writer of Divine Wisdom saith" (Cant. L. iii. p. 82), in proof that the invisible things of God may be understood from those which are seen; for which (p. 81) he alleged St. Paul. It is alleged among the passages of "Divine Scripture" (De Princip. ii. 6. T. i. p. 82); among different directions relating to prayer with St. Paul (De Orat. n. 31. T. i. pp. 266, 267.); with the formula 'de quibus scriptum est' (Hom. 20 in Num. T. ii. p. 348), as is the Wisdom of Sirach, I who read it written of Wisdom' (Ib. Hom. 28. p. 384), as what was said by 'him who was full of the wisdom of God.' (ib. Hom. 12. p. 312). It is said, that τὸ γεγραμμένον περὶ σοφίας ἐφαρμόσεις καὶ τῇ πίστει (in Matt. Tom. x. n. 19), quoting a passage from it (T. iii. p. 467), and (ib. p. 886), that "what Solomon says (in this same place) is not to be understood of wisdom only, but of all virtue." He says that it is proved from the Book of Wisdom entitled Solomon's, that the object of the deluge was to destroy the descendants of Cain (Hom. 20 in Joann. n. 2. T. iv. p. 312). In his answer to Celsus' objections to the supposed anti-philosophic spirit of the Scripture, he refers to the definition of Wisdom, vii. 25, 26 (c. Cels. iii. 72. T. i. p. 494). In the next book (iv. 28) he again says that Celsus had wrongly attributed to Christians the belief that God neglected His creation, and cared for *their* salvation alone, since they "read and acknowledged" that God loved all things which He had made; for "He would not have made any thing, hating it," &c. (Wisd. xi. 25. τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι καὶ γιγνώσκουσι), as in the sequel he quotes Ecclesiasticus in common with the Psalms and St. Matthew. In the same book, he explains the formation of man in Genesis, which Celsus had ridiculed, by a passage in Wisdom, which he cites (καθὸ λέλεκται τὸ, Ib. n. 37. p. 530); and again (vii. 51. p. 731) of the existence of the Spirit of God within man, with our Lord's words (John xx. 22; Acts i. 5).

and Ecclesiasticus[3] are repeatedly quoted as Scripture or divine Scriptures; they are cited with the

[3] *Ecclesiasticus* is even oftener spoken of as Scripture (Hom. 16 in Jerem. n. 6. T. iii. p. 232. Hom. 3. in Jud. n. 2. T. ii. p. 464, twice (once with 1 Pet.); Hom. 1. in Reg. n. 4. ib. p. 483); as "sacred Scripture" (De Princip. ii. 3. p. 95, twice, once with Ezek.); c. Cels. viii. 50. p. 778, ὁ θεῖος λόγος: vii. 12. p. 702, αἱ θεῖαι γραφαὶ (with 1 Pet.): he cites it (ib. vi. 7. p. 634) with Proverbs as ἱερα γράμματα, in proof that the Divine word (ὁ θεῖος λόγος) urged to the study of philosophy; and as comprised in ὁ λόγος, i. e., the revealed word (Ib. iv. 12, p. 508); with the formulæ, γέγραπται γὰρ (Tom. 16. in Matt. T. iii. p. 724. Tom. 32. in Joann. n. 14. T. iv. p. 442); "quia scriptum est" (De Princip. iv. 26. T. i. p. 189); πάλιν ἀλλαχοῦ λέγεται (Hom. 12. in Jerem. n. 13. T. iii. p. 203 with 1. Cor.); "alibi scriptum est" (in Ps. 38. n. 3. T. ii. p. 691. with Prov.); "denique scriptum est" (Hom. 21. in Num. n. 2. T. ii. p. 353). He speaks also, in reference to this book, of persons "forgetting Divine Scripture, which says" (in Ps. 37. n. 1. T. ii. p. 686), "let us keep the precept—which is said," "which is written" (Hom. 24. n. 2. in Jos. T. ii. p. 453. Tom. 28. in Joann. n. 3. T. iv. p. 372 [with Prov.] Hom. 5. in Ezek. n. 4. T. iii. p. 375). He alleges another passage with the formula "non legisti?" (Hom. 8. in Num. T. ii. p. 295); and again, of the necessity of suffering in the way of righteousness, he says, "Hear the Apostle Paul, who confirms this (2 Tim.); but Solomon also speaks similarly" (Hom. ii. in Jos. n. 2. T. ii. p. 425). He adduces it also to prove that there is not one evil spirit only, but as many as there are human beings who do the works of the devil (together with St. Luke and a Psalm) Hom. 15. in Jos. T. ii. p. 435, where he mentions "a certain book, called the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, but as not in the Canon," apparently as not possessing the authority which he ascribes to Ecclesiasticus. He speaks of the author also as a prophet, though aware that he was not such in the usual sense of the term, "per Prophetam describit Sapientia (Prophetam etenim eum dico)," in Ps. 38. n. 7. T. ii. p. 698.

formulæ used in adducing Scripture, and indiscriminately with it. Origen even argues, more than once, on the relation of the Son to the Father from the description of Wisdom, which he also says should be united in the inquiry as to the meaning of the beginning of the Epistle to the Hebrews [4], as he does once also of the nature of the Holy Spirit in believers [5]. Of other books the quotations are much rarer; yet he alleges Tobit, under the name of "Scripture," in proof that (not the angels in Heaven only, who rejoice over one sinner that repenteth, but) the souls of holy men who are fallen asleep pray with those who pray aright [6]. For the same purpose he there quotes the Second Book of Maccabees, as he does in two other passages; on one occasion with a formula, used in citing Scripture [7]. The examples of the seven Martyrs are also alleged as from Scripture [8], and the creation from nothing proved out of it [9]." Judith is quoted twice

[4] Tom. 13. in Joann. n. 25. T. iv. pp. 235, 236. in Ep. ad Hebr. ib. p. 697. Tom. 15 in Matt. n. 10. T. iii. p. 665, comp. Comm. in Prov. T. iii. p. 2 and De Princip. L. 1. n. 5—10. T. 1. pp. 55—57, where he uses the phrases "divine Scr." "language of Scr."

[5] Hom. 6. in Is. n. 5. T. iii. p. 119.

[6] De Orat. n. 11. T. pp. 213, 214.

[7] In Cant. L. 3. T. iii. p. 71. Tom. 13. in Joann. n. 57. T. iv. p. 273.

[8] De Exhort. ad Martyr. n. 23 and 27. T. i. pp. 288, 290.

[9] "Ut etiam ex Scripturarum auctoritate hæc ita se habere credamus, audi quomodo in Machabæorum libris—de hoc dogmate confirmatur" (De Princip. ii. 1. n. 5. T. i. p. 79).

only, once with an usual formula of citation[1], in the other case, in regard to the trials by which God proves man, he says, "Judith speaks not to the elders of her own time only, but to all who read her writing[2]. Baruch he quotes once with the usual formula[3].

The frequent union of some of these books by Origen with those which occupy the corresponding place in the Christian system, which has been observed by Lardner[4], throws mutual light upon both; and though he gives his opinion that one of these, Hermas, is divinely inspired, it seems scarcely probable from his language in other places, that he thought it so in an equal degree with the Evangelic and Apostolic Scriptures.

Eusebius, besides citing the Catalogues of Josephus[5] and Melito[6], which contain no Deutero-

[1] κατὰ τὸ, in Jerem. xxiii. 29. T. iii. pp. 302, 303.

[2] De Orat. n. 29. T. i. p. 257.

[3] γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Βαρούχ, in Jerem. xxxi. 16. T. iii. p. 306.

[4] Art. Origen. n. 23.

[5] He quotes Josephus's authority as relating to the *Old* Testament. "In the first of these books he sets down, as from ancient tradition, the number of the Canonical Scriptures of that which is called the Old Testament, which are uncontradicted among the Hebrews, in these words." (H. E. iii. 9). In that he calls it the *Old* Testament, it is plain that he is citing it in reference to Christians, who alone count it as the "*Old* Testament."

[6] Melito says that he obtained his catalogue in Palestine. "Having gone up to the East, and having come to the place where these things were done and preached, and having learned

Canonical Book, and Origen, who has only the Epistle of Jeremiah, notices that Clement of Alexandria "[7] quoted contradicted books: Wisdom, called Solomon's, and that of Jesus, son of Sirach, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that of Barnabas, and Clement and Jude;" he says that the Maccabees "[8] are not received among the Divine Scriptures;" asserts that there is no Divine book continuing the history from Zorobabel to the time of the Saviour[9]; and he, as well "[1] as Origen, Apollinarius, and other Ecclesiastical men and doctors of Greece, owned that these visions [the stories of Susanna and Bel and the Dragon] did not exist among the Hebrews; nor had they any obligation to answer Porphyry for these things, which yield no authority of Holy Scripture."

From the nature of his works, he had less occasion to quote Apocryphal books; his argument confining him, even in the work in which he most quotes Holy Scripture, almost exclusively to prophetical Scripture. Yet even here he quotes the same passage of Wisdom which Origen employed with regard to the Divinity of God the Son, as an oracle instructing concerning Him to which obedi-

accurately the books of the O. T., I subjoin and send them you." Eus. iv. 26.

[7] H. E. vi. 13, p. 272.

[8] In Chron. ad Olymp. 116. 4. in S. Jer. viii. 538. ἥτις τῶν μὲν θεοπνεύστων οὐκ ἔστι in Syncell., p. 218.

[9] Dem. Ev. viii., p. 368, D.

[1] S. Jerome, Pref. to Daniel, Opp. v. 619.

ence was to be paid[2]. In the Præparatio Evangelica, although he speaks expressly of the author of this book as distinct from those of Solomon[3], he quotes it as the "divine oracle which we have," and as Scripture[4], as he does in his commentary on the Psalms[5].

S. Athanasius, in his Paschal Epistle, "[6] at the exhortation of true brethren, thought good to set forth in order what were transmitted as canonical, and accredited to be Divine Books." He then gives their number as twenty-two, counting in only the Epistle to Jeremiah. "These," he says, having enumerated all of the N. T., "are the fountains of salvation, that he who is athirst may be filled with the oracles therein. In these alone is taught the doctrine of godliness; let no one add thereto or diminish

[2] ἡμῖν ἀνείρηται δουλεύουσι λογίῳ παιδεύοντι περὶ αὐτοῦ, Dem. Ev. v. 1. p. 216, B. comp. iv. 3. p. 147. C.

[3] "So says Solomon in the Proverbs, and these things are somewhere said in his person." vii. 12, p. 321 B. (quoting Wisdom vi. 24, vii. 22—26, viii. 1).

[4] τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν θεῖον λόγιον τὸ φάσκον, i. 9. p. 30. C. ταῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ, xi. 14. p. 533 A.; and he distinguishes what is here and in other passages, which he had quoted from the O. T., said by Scripture, from what was contained in Philo. In another place (xii. ult. p. 636) he quoted it after David and Isaiah, in proof that the wisdom of the philosophers was found in the Ἑβραίων λόγια.

[5] As, οὐκ ἠγνόει τὸ φάσκον λόγιον, of Ecclus. (in Ps. lxix. 2. Montfauc. i. 390), and with the formula κατὰ τὸ, Inscriptt. in Ps., ib. p. 1.; Ps. xxxiii. 8. p. 132 B.; τὸ γὰρ, in Ps. lvi. p. 247 E.

[6] Opp. T. i. p. 2. pp. 962, 963.

therefrom. As to these, the Lord rebuked the Sadducees, saying, 'Ye do err, not knowing the Scripture,' and exhorted the Jews, 'Search the Scriptures, for these are they which testify of Me.'" Then he subjoins a statement, anticipating S. Jerome's. "But, for greater accuracy, it is necessary to add, that there are other books outside of these, not received into the Canon, but as to which the fathers decreed that they should be read by those newly come and wishing to be instructed in the word of godliness, the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Sirach, and Esther, and Judith, and Tobit, and what is called 'the doctrine of the Apostles,' and the Shepherd. And yet, beloved though the former were made the Canon, and these (latter) are read, there is no mention of Apocryphal writings."

S. Athanasius quotes almost exclusively the two Books of Wisdom; Ecclesiasticus he quotes, besides the usual formulæ, as spoken by the Spirit[7]. Wisdom he alleged in common with the Scripture of the N. T. in proof of doctrines in relation to the Holy Spirit[8], and intermixed with other places of "Divine Scripture[9]." On the origin of idolatry, he

[7] With the Psalms, Epist. ad Episc. Æg. et Lib. n. 3. T. i. p. 272. ed. Ben., with the formula κατὰ τὸ, in Ps. cxvii. p. 1202. in Ps. cxviii. p. 1214. εἰδὼς τὸ εἰρημένον. ib. p. 1210.

[8] Ep. 1. ad Serap. n. 26. p. 674, where it is twice quoted. φησὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ Σοφίᾳ, with 1 Pet. intervening; and Ep. 3. ad Serap. n. 4. p. 693, with the Ps. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ γέγραπται.

[9] With the Ps. and St. Paul. Orat. 2. c. Arian. n. 45, p. 513.

appeals to it as Scripture, which taught long ago its phrensied invention, and speaks of it as a witness[1]. The only other book which he quotes is Tobit, in a single passage[2]. All these are quoted as Scripture by Bishops of Thessalonica and Egypt, whose letters are contained in his works[3].

S. Hilary also, having spoken of the distribution of the 119th Psalm into twenty-two eights, says, "[4] This is the reason that the law of the Old Testament is arranged under twenty-two books, in order to agree with the number of the letters. These are so arranged according to the traditions of the ancients." Then, having enumerated the books, with the addition of the Epistle of Jeremiah only, he adds, "Some have thought good, adding Tobit and Judith, to count twenty-four books, according to the number of the Greek letters."

S. Hilary does not cite any Deutero-Canonical Book, except Baruch[5], for any of the main Chris-

[1] *ἄνωθεν καὶ πρὸ πολλοῦ προεδίδασκεν ἡ γραφὴ* and *ἐπὶ μάρτυρι τῇ γραφῇ*, Orat. c. Gentes, n. 11. pp. 11, 12.

[2] *ἐπειδὴ γέγραπται*, Apol. ad Constant. n. 17. p. 305.

[3] *ἡ ἱερά φησι γραφὴ*, Ep. Alexandri, in Apol. c. Arianos, n. 66, p. 183 (quoting Ecclus.) *τὸ ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις γραφαῖς γεγραμμένον*, of Proverbs and Wisdom, by the Eg. and Libyan Synod (Ib. n. 3, p. 125), which also quotes Tobit with the formula, *ὡς γέγραπται*, ib. n. 11, p. 133.

[4] Prol. in Lib. Psalm. n. 15, p. 10.

[5] Baruch iii. 36 (so often cited by the Fathers) is alleged as Jeremiah, with Moses and Isaiah. De Trin. V. ult. p. 852; and again in Ps. lxviii. n. 19, p. 225.

tian doctrines. Yet he quotes Tobit[6], as did Origen, in proof that there are angels who present our prayers to God, and with the same formula with which he had just quoted St. John; he cites also Ecclesiasticus with Deuteronomy[7], Wisdom as Solomon's indiscriminately with Proverbs[8], and as prophetic words, or as spoken by a prophet[9].

S. Cyril of Jerusalem speaks very strictly. "[1] Read the two and twenty books of these Scriptures, and have nothing to do with the uncertain books. Those only study earnestly, which we read confidently even in Church. Far wiser than thou,

[6] "Secundum Raphaelem ad Tobiam loquentem." S. Hilary had just before spoken of other ministries of angels, "secundum Joannem;" of others, "Moyse testante;" and of others, "Domino docente." In Ps. cxxix. n. 7. p. 439.

[7] In an allegorical interpretation of the centurion mentioned in Matt. viii. 5. sqq., he says that he is "the chief of the nations who should believe;" and adds, "Quis hic princeps sit, cui subjecti sunt plures, qui volet scire, Moysi in Deuteronomio canticum et Salomonis librum Ecclesiasticum, ubi de dispersione gentium quædam locuti sunt, legat." In Matt. cap. 7. p. 641. He quotes it also with the formula, "secundum id quod dictum est" (Prol. in Ps. n. 20. p. 12). In another place (in Ps. cxl. n. 5. p. 536) he cites Ecclus. as "a book with us [the Latins] entitled Solomon's, but accounted the Wisdom of Sirach among the Greeks and Hebrews," with the formula "ita monemur."

[8] In Ps. cxxvii. n. 9. p. 427.

[9] "Docet Propheta dicens, 'Spiritus Dei replevit orbem terrarum;'" just after the Acts, and again "rursum Propheta," in Ps. cxviii. lit. 2. n. 8. p. 254; "secundum Prophetam." Ib. lit. 19. n. 8. p. 355; and "propheticæ voces." de Trin. i. 7. p. 770.

[1] Lect. iv. 22. n. 35, p. 50. Oxf. Tr.

and more devout, were the Apostles and the ancient Bishops, the rulers of the Church, who have handed down these: thou, therefore, who art a child of the Church, trench not on their sanctions. And of the O. T., as hath been said, study the two and twenty books." These then he enumerates, adding only Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah, as forming one book with Jeremiah and the Lamentations. Copious as his quotations from Holy Scripture are, he made very little use of Deutero-Canonical Books beyond what he probably received as portions of the text of the Canon—the additions to Daniel, besides Baruch. He uses their language, but only *quòtes* Wisdom xiii. 5, a passage much employed by the Fathers to prove that from the greatness and beauty of created things men might be raised to a higher conception of the Creator. He calls the book Solomon's [2], and argues upon the word ἀναλόγως.

Of the lists of the sacred books in *S. Epiphanius* the first is avowedly the Canon of the Jews, which he alleges against the heathen philosophers. Yet he sums up, "these are the twenty-seven books which were given by God to the Jews." He adds, "[3] There are other two books, questioned among them, the Wisdom of Sirach, and that of Solomon, besides some other books Apocryphal." In a second place he appeals to Aetius, who was

[2] Cateches. ix. 2. p. 91. O. T.
[3] Adv. Hær. v. 6. T. i. p. 19.

harping on expressions not in Holy Scripture, and making heretical inferences from them. "[4] Thou oughtest to have gone through from the creation of the world to the times of Esther, in the twenty-seven books of the Old Testament, numbered as twenty-two, and the four holy Gospels, &c. (enumerating all the books of the N. T.), and in the Wisdoms of Solomon and the son of Sirach, and, in fine, all the Divine Scriptures, to condemn thyself." In the third place, he uses much the same distinction as S. Jerome. Having enumerated the twenty-two Hebrew books, he sums up, "[5] Thus the twenty-two books, according to the number of the twenty-two Hebrew letters, are completed;" and adds, "But the two books, that of Solomon, called ἡ *Πανάρετος*, and that of Jesus, son of Sirach, descendant of the Jesus who wrote 'the Wisdom' in Hebrew, which Jesus his descendant translated into Greek; these too are beneficial and useful, but are not placed in the number of Scriptures. Wherefore also they were not laid up in the ark."

He does not prove any of the great Christian doctrines from the books which he had thus spoken of as detached from the rest; yet he acknowledged the truths contained in them, as authoritative and as coming from God. He refers to them as the "testimony of Scripture[6];" he speaks "of

[4] Hær. lxxvi. c. 5. p. 941.
[5] De Pond. c. 4. T. ii. 162.
[6] Of Ecclus. ὡς καὶ ἡ γραφὴ εἶπεν, Hær. xxiv. 6. T. i. p. 72.

the Holy Spirit declaring truth in Wisdom for men of former and succeeding generations[7];" he appeals to it in proof of the indestructibleness of the world[8], the immortality for which God created man[9], the trials of the righteous[1], the admission of children who die early to eternal bliss[2], and of the duration of human child-bearing[3].

S. Gregory of Nazianzus gives his list, "[4] that thy mind may not be misled by strange books." He enumerates the twenty-two. Then, having gone through those of the N. T., he sums up, "Thou hast all; but if there be any out of these, it is not among the genuine."

But although in this catalogue he expressly mentions "three books of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Song, Proverbs," and gives no ground to think that he included Baruch in Jeremiah, he adduces ex-

τὸ θεῖον γράμμα of Scripture, including Ecclus. Hær. lxix. 57. p. 781. ἡ θεία γραφὴ, Ancorat. n. 18 (Ecclus. amid other Scr.), T. ii. p. 23. τὸ θεῖον γράμμα, Anc. n. 12. T. ii. p. 17. Wisdom is quoted, ἐπ' αὐτῷ πληροῦται τὸ εἰρημένον, Hær. lxv. 1. T. i. p. 607. φησὶ ἡ γραφὴ, Ancor. n. 2. T. ii. p. 7.

[7] προθεσπίζων τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα καὶ διὰ τοὺς πρώην καὶ μετέπειτα. Hæres. xxvi. 15. T. i. pp. 97, 98.

[8] Hær. lxiv. 31. p. 554 (with Rom.).

[9] Ib. n. 19. p. 543. the immortality of the soul. Ib. n. 36. p. 559, where it is said to be taught by the Lord both by Himself (in S. Luke) and by Solomon.

[1] Ib. n. 48 (with Ps.), p. 573.

[2] Hær. lxvii. n. 4. p. 713, where Solomon is appealed to as προφητῶν μακαριέστατος.

[3] Hær. li. 29. p. 451.

[4] L. i. Carm. 12, T. ii. pp. 259, 261.

pressions from the Wisdom of Solomon, in proof of the Divinity both of the Son[5] and the Holy Ghost[6], and of the illimitableness of the Divine Nature[7], and says that those who, from the words "the only true God," argued that the Father Alone was God, could not answer those who, on the like ground[8], said on the other side, that the Son Alone *was called* (εἰρῆσθαι) God. In what words? In those (Baruch iii. 36. 38). He does not name Baruch, but uses his words. He quotes Ecclesiasticus also as "Divine Scripture[9]."

The Canon of *S. Amphilochius* agrees altogether with that of S. Gregory Naz. He too cautions, "not every book is safe, which hath the solemn name of Scripture. For there are falsely-entitled books, and some intermediate, and bordering on the words of truth. But others spurious and very dangerous. Therefore I will recite to you each of the inspired

[5] Orat. xxix. (Theol. 3), 17. p. 535, with many passages of the O. and N. T.

[6] Orat. xxxi. (Theol. 5), 29, p. 575 twice, also with many places of the O. and N. T.

[7] Orat. xxviii. (Theol. 2), n. 8. p. 500.

[8] Orat. xxx. (Theol. 4) 13, p. 549.

[9] The words ἀνυπονόητον κοσμῶν διαδήματι are from Ecclus. xi. 5, and are added to a quotation from S. Luke; but S. Gregory adds παρὰ γὰρ τῆς θείας καὶ τοῦτο λαμβάνω γραφῆς.—Orat. iv. (in Julian.) 12, p. 83. He also quoted Ecclus. in proof that mourning for the dead was permitted (with Prov. x. 7. and with the formula φησὶ),—Orat. vii. 1, p. 199. He quotes it again with the formula φησὶ,—Orat. xxxii. 21, p. 593, and with other Scriptures,—Orat. xxxvii. 6, p. 649.

books." He too counts three books of Solomon, and sums up, "This is the most true Canon of the inspired Scriptures[1]."

Having alleged Isaiah, in proof that God was to be manifest to man in a higher way than to Abraham by angels, or to Moses by fire in the bush, or to Isaiah by the Seraphim, or to Ezekiel by the Cherubim, he subjoins, "Whence do we accredit this? From that other voice of the prophet, saying" (quoting Baruch iii. 38[2]).

S. Chrysostom. Montfaucon has, I think, shown clearly that the introduction to the Synopsis of Holy Scripture, which he published among S. Chrysostom's works, is his[3]. In this, the προθεωρία, the first, the historical division (of which it professes to give a complete account), makes no mention of any of the Deutero-Canonical Books[4]. In the second, the preceptive, it names one only, the Wisdom of Sirach[5], with the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles. In the third, the prophetic, it does not mention Baruch or the Epistle of Jeremiah; but there must be some corruption, Ruth being named a second time[6], with the sixteen Prophets and the Psalms[7]. Even the insertion of

[1] Ep. Iamb. ad Selenium, vv. 252—320, pp. 130—134.

[2] In Christi Nat. p. 4. The same passage is interwoven in S. Deip. p. 38.

[3] Opp. vi. 308—313. [4] Ib. 315. [5] Ib. 316.

[6] Ῥοὺθ might possibly be a corruption of Βαρούχ, but it is too uncertain to argue from.

[7] Both MSS. of the Synopsis are of the middle of the

the Wisdom of Sirach is inconsistent with S. Chrysostom's belief, that the Scriptures were burnt at the Babylonish captivity, that God inspired Ezra to put them together from the fragments, that Christ received them at His coming, and that the Apostles diffused them [8].

Yet S. Chrysostom gives the name of Scripture or Divine Scripture often to Ecclesiasticus, and, less frequently, to the Wisdom of Solomon. They are quoted against pride, undue speculation, of the government of speech; or, more devotionally, Ecclesiasticus is quoted as to trials in the commencement of the Christian course [9], of the office of charity to

fifteenth century, but that of the προθεωρία is by a good scribe from a good MS.; the second, the Leyden MS., is by an inferior scribe. This contains Synopses of Tobit, Judith, Wisdom of Solomon, as well as of Leviticus, the Chronicles, the Third Book of Esdras (which now too is not in the Canon), Esther, Job, Proverbs. But the additional matter is mostly identical with the Synopsis, which, it is agreed, is not S. Athanasius's. In this, Esther, Tobit, Judith, Wisdom of Solomon, and of Sirach are mentioned as external to the Canon. It is improbable that the author of the Synopsis in S. Athanasius, which is complete, should have taken as from S. Chrysostom those only which are peculiar to this single MS. Whereas it is probable enough that the late and not very skilful copyist should have filled out his MS. from the Synopsis in S. Athanasius. None of these Synopses, which are common to this MS. and the Synopsis in S. Athanasius, have any of those marks which Montfaucon points out as characteristic of S. Chrysostom.

[8] Hom. 8 in Ep. ad Hebr. n. 4. T. xii. p. 90.

[9] "Hast thou not heard what Scripture saith?" Adv. Jud. viii. 6. T. i. p. 683. The passage is again quoted as τις σοφὸς, ad Stag. i. 6. T. i. p. 170; also with the word φησὶν, T. ii. p. 17; καὶ πάλιν, after S. Paul, i. 724, iii. 284.

purify the soul from sin [1], that man may not justify himself before God [2], against presuming on God's mercy, to sin [3]. Wisdom he quotes, in proof that Satan fell before the creation of man, as Scripture [4]. Although most commonly alleged with the formula "he, or, it saith," "one" or "a certain wise man," Ecclesiasticus is quoted directly as Scripture [5], or after other Scripture [6], or as "the Prophet [7]," or the "Old Testament [8]." Wisdom is also quoted as Scripture [9] and "Divine Scripture [1]," under the same formula as S. Paul, in proof that some

[1] Eccl. iii. 30 φησὶ Hom. 31 in Gen. ult. T. iv. p. 315. Hom. 7 [6] in Joann. n. s. fin. T. viii. p. 47. Hom. 9. in Hebr. n. 4. T. xii. p. 99, "hear what Divine Scripture saith," quoting S. Luke xi. 2, then Prov. xvi. 6, then Eccl. iii. 30, each with καὶ πάλιν.

[2] Eccl. vii. 5 as Solomon's, in ill. Vidi Dom. Hom. iii. 1. T. vi. 113.

[3] Eccl. v. 6 as Scripture. Hom. 15 in Ep. ad Eph. n. 2. T. xi. p. 30.

[4] Wisd. ii. 24. Hom. 22 in Gen. n. 2. T. iv. p. 195. "Scripture teacheth us otherwise, that," &c., "as also a certain wise man saith."

[5] Besides the places quoted, T. i. p. 348; T. vii. 537; T. xi. 125, and 145.

[6] After Ps. and Isa. T. ii. p. 111; as ἕτερος, T. v. pp. 101 110. 313. 432. 434, x. 602; and with the formulæ ἄλλος σοφός τις ἀνὴρ, xi. 73, ἀλλαχοῦ φησὶν, x. 130. 292, καὶ ἑτέρωθι πάλιν, in the midst of Scriptures, xii. 90.

[7] T. iv. 194. 397.

[8] ἡ παλαιὰ, T. vii. 223. 764 (with Prov.) ix. 87, ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ σοφός τις, xi. 136.

[9] Alone, T. iv. p. 83. T. v. p. 260; after S. James, T. ii. p. 13; also after a Psalm, as words of a Prophet, T. v. p. 167, where Wisd. v. 19 has the precise words, Isa. lix. 17 slightly differs.

[1] T. vi. p. 297.

knowledge of the Creator was gained from the Creation[2]; that the full knowledge of God comes from God[3]."

The case of the Anglican Church is exactly analogous to this. We retain the Canon of S. Jerome and the distinction which he draws between the books of the O. T., upon which our Lord expressly set His seal; yet both books of Homilies, in some forty-three places in all, quote, either in the body of the Homily or in the margin, the Deutero-Canonical books. They quote them as "[4] Scripture, written by the Holy Ghost,"

[2] T. ii. 99, quoted again Ib. 263; and with a Ps., T. vi. 201.

[3] T. v. 461. In that former examination, I gave the following result:—Beside the very many passages in which either words of Ecclesiasticus are used, or it is alleged with the common formula φησὶ, there are 46 in which it is alleged with that of σοφός τις, or more rarely οὗτος ὁ σοφός; 15 with τις; 11 united with canonical Scripture as ἕτερος, or in 2 with ἕτερος σοφός; in 10 it is quoted as "Scripture" or "Divine Scripture," in 2 as "the prophet," in 4 as "the Old Testament;" twice as by the author of Proverbs; twice (united with Ecclesiastes) as Solomon's, whereas on three other occasions he distinguishes its author from Solomon.

[4] "*The Holy Ghost, in writing the holy Scripture,* is in nothing more diligent than to pull down man's vain-glory and pride .... And therefore we read in many places of Scripture many notable lessons against this old rooted vice.... In the Book of Genesis Almighty God giveth us a title and a name in our great-grandfather Adam, which ought to warn us," &c. "And we read that *Judith,* Esther, Job, Jeremy, with other holy men and women *in the Old Testament,* did use sackcloth," &c. "*The Book of Wisdom also,* willing to pull down our proud

"[5] the Scriptures," "[6] the Old Testament," with the

stomachs, moveth us diligently to remember our mortal and earthly generation. And Almighty God commandeth His prophet Esay to make proclamation," &c.—"Of the Misery of Mankind," P. 1.

[5] "The holy fathers of the old law . . . did by death depart . . . from sorrows and sicknesses unto joyful refreshing in Abraham's bosom, a place of all comfort and consolation, as *the Scriptures do plainly by manifest words testify. The Book of Wisdom saith* that 'The righteous men's souls be in the hand of God, and no torment shall touch them,' &c. (Wisd. iii. 1, &c.). And another place saith, that 'The righteous shall live for ever' (Wisd. v. 15). And in another place the same book saith, 'The righteous, though he be prevented by sudden death, nevertheless he shall be there, where he shall be refreshed' (Wisd. iv. 7). Of Abraham's bosom Christ's words be so plain," &c.—"Against Fear of Death," P. iii.

"'Give alms,' saith He; 'and, behold, all things are clean unto you.' He teacheth them, that to be merciful and charitable in helping the poor is the means to keep the soul pure and clean in the sight of God. We are taught, therefore, by this, that merciful almsdealing is profitable to purge the soul from the infection and filthy spots of sin. The same lesson doth the Holy Ghost also teach in sundry places of the Scripture, saying, 'Mercifulness and almsgiving purgeth from all sins, and delivereth from death, and suffereth not the soul to come into darkness' (Tobit 4). The wise preacher, the son of Sirach, confirmeth the same when he saith, that, 'as water quencheth burning fire, even so mercy and alms resisteth and reconcileth sins.' "—Sermon on Almsdeeds, P. 2.

"Agreeable hereunto are many other notable places in the Old Testament. Deut. xxvii.: 'Cursed be he that maketh a carved image,' &c. Read the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of the Book of Wisdom concerning idols and images. And by and by he showeth . . . . See and view the whole chapter with diligence, for it is worthy to be well considered,

formula, "[7] it is written," as "[8] the Word of God,"

specially that is written. . . . And in the chapter following be these words.... In the Book of Psalms &c. And in the prophet Esay saith the Lord. . . . The weakness, vileness, and foolishness in device of the images is expressed at large *in the Scriptures*, namely, the Psalms, *the Book of Wisdom*, the prophet Esaias, Ezekiel, and *Baruch*, specially in these places and chapters of them, Psalms cxv. and cxxxiv.; Esai. xl. and xliv.; Ezekiel vi.; Wisdom xiii., xiv., xv.; Baruch vi. The which places, as I exhort you often diligently to read, so are they too long at this present to be rehearsed in an homily. Notwithstanding, I will make you certain brief notes out of them, what they say of these idols and images." Two out of the four heads are taken out of the Deutero-Canonical books; and Baruch is quoted, "saith the Prophet Baruch."—"Against the Peril of Idolatry," P. i.

The rude people, who specially—as the Scripture (Wisdom xiii.) teacheth—are in danger of superstition and idolatry." —Ib. P. iii.

"Whose perils the Scripture (Wisdom xiii., xiv.) doth specially foreshow."—Ib.

[6] See ab. pp. 150, 151, notes 4 and 5.

[7] "And as *it is written* (Sap. xiv.), that images were not from the beginning."—"Against Peril of Idolatry," P. iii.

[8] "Will you hear the Scripture concerning this most necessary point? 'I exhort, therefore,' saith St. Paul, 'that above all things,' &c. (1 Tim. ii. 1, &c.). This is St. Paul's counsel. . . . Will you yet hear *the Word of God* to the Jews, when they were prisoners under Nabuchodonosor? &c. Will you hear yet what the Prophet Baruch saith unto God's people, being in their captivity? 'Pray you,' saith the prophet, 'for the life of Nabuchodonosor,' &c. (Baruch i. 11). Thus far the prophet Baruch his words, which were spoken by him unto the people of God," &c.—(Sermon against Wilful Rebellion, P. 1.).

"Doth not the Word of God call Idolatry spiritual fornication? Doth it not call a gilt or painted idol or image a strumpet with a painted face?"—(Baruch vi.).—"Against Peril of Idolatry," P. iii.

"[9] the infallible and undeceivable Word of God." They quote them together with other Scripture and under the same formula[1], even together with words

[9] "This good order is appointed by God's wisdom, favour, and love, especially for those that love God; and therefore He saith, 'I love them that love Me.' Also in the Book of Wisdom we may evidently learn, that a king's power, authority, and strength is a great benefit of God. . . . For thus we read there spoken to kings (Wisd. vi. 1—3). Let us learn also here by the infallible and undeceivable Word of God, that kings are ordained of God, Who is most highest."—"Of Obedience," P. 1.

[1] "Without Him [God] the bread and drink cannot give sustenance . . . as the wise man plainly confesseth it, saying ——(Wisdom xvi.). And Moses agreeth to the same when he saith"—quoting again Wisdom xvi.—Sermon for Rogation Week, P. i.

"To confess that all good things come from Almighty God is a great point of wisdom; for, so confessing, we know whither to resort for to have them, if we want; as St. James biddeth us, saying, 'If any man wanteth,' &c. As the wise man in the want of such a like gift, made his recourse to God for it, as he testifieth in his book, &c."—Ib. P. ii.

"The body is so much disquieted with them [gluttony and drunkenness] that as Jesus the son of Sirach affirmeth. . . . The Prophet Osea saith, 'Wine and women lead wise men out of the way:' so saith Jesus the son of Sirach."—"Against Gluttony and Drunkenness."

"The holy Apostles and disciples of Christ, who, by reason of His daily conversation, saw by His deeds and heard in His doctrine how much He tendered the poor; the godly fathers also, *both before* and *since Christ, endued without doubt with the Holy Ghost,* and most certainly certified of God's Holy Will, they both do most earnestly exhort us, and in all their writing almost continually admonish us, that we would remember the poor, and bestow our charitable alms upon them. St. Paul crieth after this sort——(1 Thess. v.). And again——(Heb. xiii.).

of our Lord Himself[2]. Tobit, with the formula

Esay the prophet teacheth on this wise——(Isa. lviii.). And the holy father Tobit giveth this counsel——(Tob. iv.). And the learned and godly doctor, Chrysostom, giveth this admonition. ——They laboured to persuade us that to give alms was a very acceptable thing and a high sacrifice to God, wherein He greatly delighted, and had a singular pleasure. For so doth the wise man, the son of Sirach, teach us, saying, 'Whoso is merciful and giveth alms, he offereth the right thank-offering.' And he addeth thereunto, 'The right thank-offering,' &c."—Sermon on Almsdeeds, P. i.

"St. James saith that God has chosen them to be heirs of His kingdom. 'Hath not God,' saith he, &c. (S. James i.). And we know that the prayer which they make for us shall be acceptable and regarded of God; their complaint shall be heard also. Thereof doth Jesus the son of Sirach certainly assure us, saying, 'If the poor complain of thee in the bitterness of his soul, his prayer shall be heard; even He that made him shall hear him.'"—Ib.

"Let us all say with holy Baruch——(Baruch ii.). Let us all say with the holy prophet Daniel——(Dan. ix.).—"On the Misery of Man," P. ii.

"Innumerable instruments hath He and messengers, by whom again He asketh such gifts as He committeth to our trust, as the wise man confesseth (Wisd. xvi.). For as the same author saith . . . And therefore by what mean and instrument soever God takes from us His gifts, we must acknowledge Him to be the taker and giver, as Job saith."—Homily for Rogation Week, P. ii.

"St. Paul saith, that 'No man can know what is of God, but the Spirit of God,' &c. The wise man saith that in the power and virtue of the Holy Ghost resteth all wisdom and all ability to know God and to please Him. For he writeth thus, ——Wisd. ix."—Ib. P. iii.

"This universal and absolute knowledge is that wisdom which S. Paul wishes these Ephesians to have (Eph. iii.), as under heaven the best treasure that can be obtained. For of

"The Angel Raphael told Tobias" is so quoted in proof that "[3] fasting, used with prayer, is of great efficacy, and weigheth much with God." They tell us that "[4] Jesus son of Sirach doth certainly assure us." They quote Wisdom as "[5] the godly this wisdom the wise man writeth thus of his experience: 'All good things came to me together with her,' &c. And addeth, moreover, in that same place, 'She is the mother of all these things; for she is an infinite treasure unto men, which whoso uses becomes partaker of the love of God.'"—Ib.

"It is the appointment and will of God, that every man during the term of this mortal and transitory life, should give himself to some honest and godly exercise and labour. 'Man,' saith Job, 'is born to labour.' And we are commanded by Jesus Sirach not to hate painful works, &c. (Ecclus. vii.). The wise man also exhorteth us," &c.—Sermon against Idleness.

[2] "And as Christ undoubtedly affirmeth that 'true faith bringeth forth good works,' so doth He say likewise of charity, 'Whosoever hath My commandments,' &c. And after that He said, 'He that loveth Me,' &c. And as the love of God is tried by good works, so is the fear of God also, as the wise man saith, 'The dread of God putteth away sin.' And also he saith, 'He that feareth God will do good works' (Ecclus. i. and xv.)."—"Of Faith," P. 2, end.

[3] "Fasting, thus used with prayer, is of great efficacy and weigheth much with God. So the angel Raphael told Tobias. It *also* appeareth by that which our Saviour Christ answered to His disciples, demanding of Him why they could not cast forth the evil spirit out of him that was brought unto them. 'This kind,' saith He, 'is not cast out but by fasting and prayer."—"Of Fasting," P. 211.

[4] See ab. p. 154, note.

[5] "Solomon also, the wisest of all men, did well know what an idol or image was, and neither took any harm thereof a great while himself, and also with his godly writings (Wisd. xiii., xiv.) armed others against them."—"Against Peril of Idolatry," P. iii.

writing of Solomon" telling us that "[6] we may know that which Jesus son of Sirach teacheth;" and quote Baruch, as "[7] the prophet Baruch."

The points, also, for which the Deutero-Canonical books are quoted, although not the great doctrines of the Faith, are some of them such as could only be known by revelation, as that pride was the beginning of man's departure from God [8], or the value of almsdeeds in reference to the forgiveness of sin [9], of the efficacy of fasting with prayer [1], or the peace of those departed after a holy life [2], or the efficacy of holy fear of God [3].

And whereas the Deutero-Canonical books are quoted so often in the Homilies, it is remarkable that, amid the copious quotations from Holy Scripture in the Council of Trent, one place only is quoted from them, and that only upon a matter of practice [4].

I cannot also but think (in which I believe

[6] "Against excess of apparel. It may be called knowledge and wisdom which is otherwise gotten without the word; but the wise man plainly testifieth that they all be vain, which have not in them the wisdom of God (Wisd. xiii.)."—Hom. for Rogation Week, P. iii.

[7] See ab. p. 152, notes 5 and 8.

[8] "Of our first going from God, the wise man saith, that pride was the first beginning: for by it man's heart was turned from God his Maker. 'For pride,' saith he, 'is the fountain of all sin,' &c. (Ecclus. x.)."—"Of Falling from God," P. i. beg.

[9] See ab. p. 151, note 5.

[1] See ab. p. 155, note 3.

[2] See ab. p. 151, note 5.

[3] See ab. p. 155, note 2.

[4] Tob. i. 6, with other Scripture, "that the payment of tithes is owed to God." Sess. xxv. C. xii.

that you would agree with me), that Bp. Cosin is wrong in saying that the Council of Trent lays down that the Deutero-Canonical books were written with the same fulness of inspiration. To me in its words—

"The Synod (seeing that this truth and discipline is contained in written books and unwritten traditions, which, having been received by the Apostles from the mouth of Christ Himself, or from the Apostles themselves, the Holy Spirit dictating, have been handed down and have reached to us), following the examples of the orthodox fathers, receives and venerates with like feeling of piety and reverence all the books of the Old and New Testament, since one God is the Author of both, and the traditions themselves, whether appertaining to faith or morals, as being dictated either orally by Christ or by the Holy Ghost, and preserved by a continual succession in the Catholic Church"—

it seems evident that the Council was comparing such traditions as come truly from Christ and His Apostles with written Scripture, not one portion of Scripture with another. Nor do I believe that the Roman Church has any where defined that the degree of inspiration of different books of the Canon is one and the same.

I do not see, then, any reason why we should not, in case of reunion, be allowed to retain S. Jerome's distinction as to the Deutero-Canonical books.

l) *Of the Primacy of the See of Rome.*

No one who knows any thing of Christian Antiquity can doubt of the Primacy of the Roman See. "Supremacy," I am informed by eminent Theologians among you, is not a recognized term. The question is, what that Primacy involves; whether it involves all the details of ordinary jurisdiction, so that all other Bishops should be, as it were, only the curates of the Bishop of Rome, with no inherent authority, but with just that authority, and no more, which the Pope allows to them; or whether there be an inherent jurisdiction in each Metropolitan See, the Pope having, at most, the right only of supervision, or care of the whole, to see that things done contrary to the Canons be corrected.

The contest of our English Sovereigns, which came to its climax in the time of Henry VIII., who set up his own authority on the ruin of that of the Pope, related to the first—the ordinary jurisdiction. Whatever Henry VIII. and Elizabeth intended to usurp, and did usurp to themselves, that which was denied to the See of Rome was only ordinary jurisdiction. The Acts of the Legislature of those reigns[5] measure the meaning of the Article in

[5] The Acts bearing on the relations of the Church or people of England to the See of Rome in Henry VIII.'s time were the 24 Henry VIII., c. 12 (A.D. 1532); 25 Henry VIII., c. 19 (A.D. 1533), "for the restraint of appeals;" 25 Henry VIII., c. 20 (A.D. 1533), "for the non-payment of first-fruits to the

denying the jurisdiction of the See of Rome. For that denial does not stand as any thing *per se;* it does not occur in any abstract declaration of the independence, e. g., of national Churches, nor even as to what the Spanish and French Bishops wished to have affirmed in the Council of Trent, that "Episcopal jurisdiction came immediately from Christ." It is only a portion of the Article, "The Civil Magistrate;" it is no question between ecclesiastical authorities. It only asserts certain prerogatives of the Crown, and denies jurisdiction which shall interfere therewith. It is on this ground that in the "Eire-

Bishop of Rome," providing also that Bishops might be consecrated without any bull, brief, or pall from the Bishop of Rome; 25 Henry VIII., c. 21, "concerning Peter-pence and dispensations," forbidding the application for dispensations to the Bishop of Rome, and transferring such dispensations to the Archbishop of Canterbury, yet so that they should be confirmed by the king, and retaining to the Bishops "the power of dispensing in all cases in which they were wont to dispense by the common law or custom of the realm;" 28 Henry VIII., c. 10, to subject to the penalty of præmunire provided in 16 Richard II., c. 5, those who "extolled the authority of the Bishop of Rome;" 32 Henry VIII., c. 38, "for marriages to stand, notwithstanding pre-contracts," and abolishing dispensations beyond the Levitical degrees.

Those of Elizabeth were, 1 Eliz., c. 1, "an Act to restore to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign powers repugnant to the same;" 5 Eliz., c. 1, "for the assurance of the Queen's royal power over all estates and subjects within her dominions;" 13 Eliz., c. 1, "against the bringing in and putting in execution of bulls, writings, and instruments, or other superstitious things from the See of Rome."

nicon" I dwelt on the fact of the autonomy, which, when things went on aright, was the rule of the early Church [6]. The Bishops, it is admitted, in whatever way elected, were confirmed by the Metropolitan [7]: the Canons of each nation were framed by the Bishops in the Provincial Synods; appeals were terminated within the province, by an appeal to a larger number of Bishops [8]. Even in Africa, although it received the Gospel from Italy, appeals beyond seas were forbidden on pain of excommunication [9]. This being so, we had, I thought, infringed no Divine right by asserting this autonomy in our internal government; and that the more, since, after the Council of Sardica,—under the special circumstances of the dominance of Arianism and of unjust judgments among the Eastern Bishops, by whom the Emperors had displaced the orthodox Bishops,—had, by a new [1] and positive law, granted to oppressed Bishops an appeal to Rome,—there appears, both on the side of the African Bishops and of the successive Popes, an entire unconsciousness of any inherent right of the See of Rome to be the tribunal for appeals. One cannot even imagine one of the later Popes resting his right to hear

[6] "Eirenicon," P. i. p. 66, sqq. [7] Conc. Nic. can. 4. Conc. Antioch., can. 12 (acknowledged by the Council of Chalcedon).

[8] Cod. Can. Eccl. Afr. 28. 125, Conc. Carth. A.D. 525, Conc. iii. 780, Col.

[1] See Tillemont, S. Ath. Art. 50, T. 8, p. 110; de Marca Conc. Sacr. vii. 3. 8.

appeals, as even S. Leo I. did, on the Canons [2], or a Synod of Bishops (as the African did, in which S. Augustine took a share) conceding that right of appeal, *if* a General Council had given it [3]. And in this, Bossuet, who briefly gives the history, says that the Gallican Church of his own day agrees.

"'The Gallican Church is actuated by the same spirit as that noble African Church formerly. For it is known what S. Zosimus, Pope, by a legation, asked of her; what the African fathers answered. Two things only we observe, that Pope Zosimus, when he claimed to his See appeals from the African Church, produced Canons, and those Nicene, received in Africa, as throughout the world: the other, that the African fathers openly professed that they would approve those appeals, if they were commanded by the Canons of Nice.

"Neither, then, did Zosimus act out of his own absolute will, nor did the African fathers allow themselves to be governed by it; but both parties rested the whole power on the received Canons.

"Meanwhile the African Bishops give credit to the Apostolic See as to the Nicene Canons, until investigation be made. But after it was ascertained that the Canons, though quoted in good faith by Zosimus, were not Nicene Canons, having gathered a Synod, they write that noble letter to S. Celestine, the successor of Zosimus after Boniface, wherein they repudiate novelties not sanctioned by the received Canons, and so abide in the ancient law.

"This the Church of Africa did, at the time when it had in its bosom so many lights of the Christian Church, Aurelius, Alypius, others, and (who alone is equal to all), Augustine."

A refusal, which Bossuet justifies on the ground

[2] Ep. v. 5: see Quesnell's note 4, p. 430. "He means apparently the Canon of Sardica."

[3] I have dwelt on this history, "Eirenicon," P. i. p. 67 sqq.

[4] Def. Decl. Cler. Gall. xi. 14. Œuvres, xxxiii. 333.

of ancient precedent, even after the Council of Trent had ordained that "[5]grave criminal causes as to Bishops, which involved deposition or privation, should be terminated by the Roman Pontiff," will not be thought in itself to involve any infringement of Divine right in us.

It has been said, that, had those been the days of Concordats, the rupture between Rome and Elizabeth might have been avoided. But then this the more bears out our conviction, that it was not the inherent authority and office of the See of Rome, which was denied by us.

If, indeed, that other opinion, prevalent among you, that all jurisdiction, of Divine right, emanated from the See of Rome, and all other Bishops were only his curates, had been, not an opinion, but certain truth, then the resumption of that "ordinary jurisdiction" would have been contrary to Divine right. But this, as it is contrary to the wide practice of the early Church, and (I must think) to Canons of General Councils, so it has never been laid down as matter of faith. The whole question whether a General Council were in any case superior to the Pope, which, as Bossuet points out, was held by very grave authorities, not in France only, but in Germany, Spain, Belgium, Poland, and even in Italy[6], would have been im-

[5] Conc. Trid. Sess. xxiv. c. v. and xx.

[6] Bossuet quotes (App. ad Def. Decl. Cler. Gall. i. 8. Œuvres, xxxiii. 474) Panormitanus (called "Lucerna Juris"), Card.

possible. For those who not only originally received but held their authority from the See of Rome, could not exercise any authority, even if gathered in an Œcumenical Council, against him. Yet Bossuet has, I think, invincibly shown that the Council of Constance was, in its fourth and fifth sessions, when it asserted the superiority of a General Council to the Pope, recognized as a General Council[7] [to us, it would seem, of the West], that it meant to assert the authority of a General Council over the Pope; not, as Ultramontanes maintained, in the case that it was doubtful which of two claimants was Pope, but absolutely[8]; that this its decree was virtually accepted by Martin V.[9]; that, however obsolete, it has never been formally repealed; that the Council of Florence confirmed it, and contained nothing con-

Zabarella, Card. Nicolaus Cusanus, Alph. Tostatus, Bishop of Avila (whom Bellarmine calls "Stupor Mundi"), Alph. de Castro, Adrian of Utrecht (who, as Adrian VI., republished at Rome what he had written, that Popes had been heretical, and "asserted heresy in their determination or decretal"), Dionysius à Reichel (who held that "a Pope might err in faith and manners, and other things of necessity to salvation," whereas a Council representing the Universal Church was infallible, as being ruled immediately by the Holy Spirit, as also that a Pope, as an individual, was inferior to a Council, and might, if "intolerably vicious or criminal," be deposed by it); as also the Universities of Cologne, Louvain, Erfurdt, Vienna, Cracow, Bologna, &c.

[7] Def. Decl. Cleri Gall. v. 21, Diss. Præv. n. xxxix., xli., xlii.

[8] Def. &c. c. xiii.—xix.

[9] Ib. c. xxii., xxix.

tradictory to it[1], and that the Fathers of the Council of Trent meant to leave this, as well as every other question, on which there were divers opinions in the Roman Communion, in just the state in which it was before.

"[2] When, in the Pontificate of Pius IV., the Sacrament of Orders was treated of, and very many, Spaniards especially, whom our Bishops joined, pressed that it should be defined that Episcopal jurisdiction came immediately from Christ, the legates asked that the true faith should be expounded as to the Pope as well as the Bishops, and some canons were proposed to our Bishops. Then the Cardinal of Lorraine called Paleoti, and signified to him that he could not, by any pains, induce his Bishops and Theologians (viz., the French, whose leader he was) to accept the decree and those Canons, because especially they admitted not the words, that 'the Supreme Pontiff had authority to rule the Universal Church,' since they contravened the sentiment which denied that he was superior to the Council; and that, accordingly, instead of 'the universal Church,' it ought to stand, 'all the faithful and all Churches[3].'"

"It is certain that the words which disturbed our Bishops were advisedly omitted in the decrees of the Council."

"That this also was not done without the consent of Pius IV. is both plain in itself, and, if any one doubts of it, it is related by the same historian. For he attests that Pius IV., when admonished thereof, wrote back that, though he maintained the decree of Florence on grounds of reason, yet, since there appears to be a difficulty, insuperable without division, the Pontiff would be satisfied, if nothing were expressed either as

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[1] Ib. L. vi. c. ix.

[2] App. ad Def. Decl. Cleri Gall. i. 2. Œuvres, xxxiii. 441—443.

[3] Pallav. Hist. Conc. Trid. xix. 13, p. 127.

to the power of Bishops or his own, those definitions only being published in which the fathers unanimously agreed[4]."

The meaning of the Canon of the Council of Florence has been disputed ever since its enactment.

Bossuet says,—

"[5] Many adduce the words of the decree of union, which seem to have a very different meaning. The words are, 'that there is given to the Pope in Peter full power of ruling and governing the universal Church,' but not simply of ruling it at his own will, but 'quemadmodum etiam in gestis Œcumenicorum Conciliorum et in sacris Canonibus continetur;' or, as it may be rendered word for word from the Greek, 'secundum eum modum qui et in gestis Œcumenicorum Conciliorum et in sacris Canonibus continetur;' or, more simply and roundly, 'secundum quod et in gestis Œcumenicorum Conciliorum et in sacris Canonibus continetur,' 'according to that which is contained both in the acts of Œcumenical Councils and in the sacred Canons.' Whence also they add, 'saving the privileges and rights of the Patriarchates,' all which the fathers willed to be added, lest the Church should seem to be governed at will rather than by Canon, and lest, under the plea of plenary power, all rights should be confounded. Nor did this injure the Papal power, since, from the very beginning of the infant Church, it itself professed that it was bound by the sacred Canons; which we shall maintain in its proper place[6].

"I am well aware that there are great disputes about these explanations, that which renders 'as too' ('quemadmodum etiam'), and that other, 'according to that which is in the acts,' &c. ('secundum quod et in gestis'). Nor is there less controversy about the meaning of the words, since the main-

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[4] Ib. x. 15, p. 136.

[5] Def. Decl. Cleri Gall. vi. 10, T. xxxii. 319.

[6] Lib. xi. passim.

tainers of [the Pope's] unlimited power assert that the object of the last words is, not to restrain the Pontifical power within just laws, but only to show that 'the plenary power of feeding and ruling' was acknowledged by General Councils and sacred Canons. Which sense is affirmed, they contend, by the first version, 'quemadmodum etiam'; for that this sense is mainly contained in the word 'etiam'[7].'

"But we shall easily settle this dispute, if we have but moderate persons to discuss with.

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[7] "De Marca, De Concord." 8. iii. n. 5. [De Marca supposes "etiam in gestis" to be an error for "et in gestis," the Latin version being, Arcudius observed (De Conc. Eccl. Occid. et Or. iii. 9), "full of faults." "One may suspect also that this place was purposely rendered wrong, because in that Latin interpretation of the Council he omits all mention of the contentions which arose between the Greeks and Latins about the canons. Which difference affixes to the Decree a meaning alien from the compact with the Easterns, whereas it results from the Greek context, that the privileges of the Popes are to be explained and exercised according to the canons and the acts of the Œcumenical Councils, i. e., those eight Councils which were composed of the Western and Eastern Church. But from the depraved reading of the Latin text the meaning is gained that the power of the Pope is plenary, and that this is proved by the acts of Councils and the canons. If any prefers to think that the Greeks were deluded by the Latins through an ambiguous formula, he may for me; especially since the same Latin reading appears in Antoninus. But the Greek words, taken in their true sense, set a bound to the exercise of the Pontifical power, like that which the Gallican Church maintains. The Greeks, moreover, seem to have guarded the rights of their Church by a formula very like ours. For they conclude that Decree, which acknowledges the free administration of the Pope, with these words, 'saving all the privileges and rights of the Patriarchs,' as is customary in France to own the authority of the Pope, 'saving the rights and liberties of the Gallican Church.'"

"First, it is certain that the last interpretation agrees, word for word, with the Greek text, 'according to what' or 'according to that mode (καθ' ὃν τρόπον) which is also contained in the Acts of Œcumenical Councils and in the sacred canons.'

"Secondly, that, too, is certain, that the Greek equally with the Latin, was, with the approbation of the sacred Council, published in the name of Eugenius, and that the Latin, subscribed by Eugenius and the Latins, has this interpretation 'Quemadmodum etiam.' This is certain from the authentic copy of the Council of Florence, which was transmitted formerly to Philip II., Duke of Burgundy, called 'the good,' and which is now preserved in the Colbertine Library, with the seals of Eugenius and John [Palæologus].

"Thirdly, no fair judges can question that the decree of Florence, whereby the Greeks were to be united to the Church, was framed to consult for the Greeks; so that, if the interpretations cannot be reconciled, *that* ought to be approved which the Greek words seem to bear. For what? Are we to say that the Greeks were deluded? That, by a delusive interpretation they were called away from that meaning, to which the Greek words led them? Far be this from the candour and majesty of the Latin Church! Wherefore we would adopt that meaning which the Greek words require.

"But since it will be certain to those who consider aright, that both the Greek and Latin readily coincide in the same meaning, we enter on a sure way, whereby clearly to show that the last words of the decree were inserted with the intent, that the plenary power, which the fathers of Florence claimed for the Pope, should not only be proved by the authority of the sacred Councils and canons, but should also be restrained by its own ancient bounds. This we make clear, not by mere assertion, but, as befits a theologian, by the series of words and acts itself.

"First, the Greeks never understood that the Pope had an authority restrained by no laws. For look how Bessarion, Metropolitan of Nice—he, of all the Greeks the fairest to the Latins, most eager for the restoration of union, and most tenacious of it when restored, never an object of suspicion at Rome, made a Cardinal for his great merits and for his success

in the Council of Florence, and counted worthy of the See of Peter—when our side, in the addition of the word 'Filioque,' urged the authority of the Roman Church, said, 'We know what are the rights and prerogatives of the Roman Church; nevertheless we know also what bounds its prerogatives had[8].' This the Greeks professed from the very beginning of the Synod (Sess. ix.). Eugenius himself, too (Sess. xxv.), spoke thus to the Greeks: '[9] Let us meet together, and there be a Synod; let the priest celebrate; let us make oath, Latins and Greeks alike; let the truth be produced freely, according to oath; and what shall seem good to the majority, this let us both, you and we, embrace. For among Christians an oath is not falsified.'

"He did not then will that the matter should be decided by his own single judgment, nor did he so feed and teach the universal Church, as to think that the consent of the united Church should be overborne by his own, understanding, as he did, that his own faith too was confirmed by the consent of the fathers.

"Now then, let us hear Bessarion, clearly explaining, in the same session, what the Greeks thought. He held a dogmatic oration to his own people, the foundation of which was this, that in imminent need, so often as any heresy should arise, '[1] the Church of God ought, being gathered together, to judge of things doubtful, and, according to the precepts of the Divine law and of the holy fathers, give sentence by common consent of all.' Then he adds, 'all this should be done in common, and what is of common concern should be terminated by common consent;' for so did the Œcumenical Councils, first, second, third, and all the rest.

"When, then, the Greeks were deliberating together, the Emperor began thus: '[2] I judge that this present general Synod is in no way inferior to any of the rest, heretofore cele-

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[8] Conc. Flor., Sess. ix. Conc. Tom. xiii. col. 151.

[9] Ib. Sess. xxv., col. 387.

[1] Bess. Orat. Dogm., c. 1. Ib., col. 394.

[2] Conc. Flor., Sess. xxv., col. 482, 483.

brated:' and afterwards, 'I, the Emperor, ought to follow the sentence of the Synod and of the major part thereof, and to maintain what has been sanctioned by most. Wherefore I say that I follow the sentence of this sacred Synod and of the majority of its fathers; both because I hold that the holy Church, using a common and synodical consideration, can no way err as to sacred doctrines; for one, two, three, or more men may err; but that the universal Church, of which the Lord said to Peter, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it"—that this Church, I say, should err in common, is altogether impossible; else the word of the Saviour has failed, and our faith is rested on a weak foundation.' This the Greeks hear, this they approve. They appealed, then, not to the Pope alone, but to the universal Church, and spoke out what altogether agrees with our people.

"But now, to leave no question, it will be well to examine carefully what they said, when the privileges of the Pope were the special subject, and these last words of the decree, which we are discussing, were being weighed.

"The Greeks said, '[8] We have admitted all the privileges of the Pope save two; that he should not convoke an Œcumenical Synod, without the Emperor and the Patriarchs if they will come; but if they are summoned and do not come, they shall be no hindrance to the holding of a Synod; the other is, that if any one think himself wronged by any of the Patriarchs, and he who hath interposed an appeal shall come, the Patriarchs shall not present themselves to be judged, but the Pope shall send inquisitors to the Provinces on the spot (κατὰ χώραν), and that judgment should take place in those parts (τοπικῶς).

"On this the Pope answered that he willed 'to have all the privileges of his Church; that he willed that appeals should be made to him, and to rule and feed the universal Church as Shepherd of the sheep, and to celebrate an Œcumenical Synod when need should be; and that all the Patriarchs should obey his will.'

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[8] Conc. Flor., Sess. xxv., col. 503.

"These demands of the Pope, reducing every thing to absolute empire, the Greeks refused; and the acts of the Synod state: 'The Emperor, hearing this, despaired, and gave no other answer than, "Provide for our departure:" so did they abhor this, that the Church should be governed, not by canon, but by will. It was agreed, then, "that the Pope should rule the Church, saving the privileges and rights of the Patriarchs of the East," whereby it was fixed that the canons should hold, and that the Church should not be ruled of mere command, and that the Churches should have their own rights, founded on canonical order.'

"When they were now engaged in writing the decree of union, of the privileges of the Pope was thus written:—that the Pope should have them 'according to the determination of Holy Scripture and the sayings of the Saints.' The Emperor objected to these words: 'If any of the Saints,' he said, 'used honourable words to the Pope [honoret Papam] in an Epistle, is the Pope to except this, as a privilege?' And he signified to the Pope that he should either correct this, or think about his return; and he insisted that the addition should be, 'according to the tenour of the canons,' and 'not according to the sayings of the Saints.'

"Now no one will deny that the very special question then was, not about constituting only, but about ruling and restraining within its limits the Pontifical power, since the Greeks were afraid lest, through an ambiguous formula, the privileges of the Pope should stretch beyond all bounds [in immensum tenderent].

"So this whole hope of union again nearly fell through; and it is clear that the Greeks understood that the Pope was indeed to *rule the Universal Church*, but *according to the canons*, not of his mere command and of absolute will.

"After these things had been long and much agitated, Eugenius vehemently urging those words, 'according to the sayings of the Saints,' and the Greeks no less vehemently resisting, being deterred by the ambiguity of the Greek word, it was at last agreed, that the Pope should have his privileges 'according to the canons and the sayings of Saints and Holy Scripture and the acts of Synods,' which collectively exhibit

the true form of administering the Church; and it was clear that the Synod prescribed, not merely the firm possession of the Papal power, but also the rule of its exercise.

"Hereupon Eugenius omitted the words 'the sayings of the Saints,' which had been so often pressed, in that they now seemed to him also to be ambiguous: and the two Churches agreed in this form, 'that the Pope had indeed the power of ruling and feeding the Church, but according to that mode which is contained, both in the acts of Œcumenical Councils and the sacred canons,' which agrees with Gerson, D'Ailly, and our people, who teach, with great harmony, that 'plenitude of power is to be acknowledged in the Pope, but to be regulated by the Councils and sacred canons.' Hence you may see why Eugenius at last himself was willing that the words 'the sayings of the Saints' should be omitted, in that they did not seem fitted for regulating the Pontifical power, which is wont to obey the canons and Œcumenical Councils, but not 'the sayings of the Saints,' taken generally.

"All this, taken from the Acts of the Council of Florence, shows how far the Greeks were from acknowledging that supreme and unlimited power which should override the united Church: how far the Latins were from requiring it to be acknowledged by the Greeks; and that the decrees of Florence, so far from abrogating those of Constance, altogether agree with them. So ought Councils to be harmonized by Catholics, not to be contrasted and put in collision with each other; lest the supreme authority in the Church should be shaken.

"The decree of Florence was made by Eugenius, 'the sacred Synod approving,' or, as it is in the Greek, *συναινούντων ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ τῶν σεβασμιῶν ἀδελφῶν*, 'the venerable brethren in the Synod consenting,' i. e. the Synod itself conjointly decreeing, giving sentence with him and adding its own decree to his decree. Nor did the Greeks understand it otherwise than that, as we have often seen them profess, the power of decreeing depended on the consent and unity of all its members, and that the Church cannot then err, 'when it uses a common and synodical consideration,' as was read in their profession above."

Bossuet, as you know, gives a whole book of his "Defence of the Declaration of the Gallican Clergy" to this point, which seemed to him the only interpretation of the Council of Florence, by which it would have been honest towards the Greeks, viz. that the authority of the Pope was limited by the canons. He premises the third head of that declaration, which embodied the principle,—

"[4] That hence the use of the Apostolic power was to be ruled by the canons made by the Spirit of God and consecrated by the reverence of the whole Church; that the rules, customs, and institutes received by the realm and Church of France do hold, and the boundaries of the fathers remain unmoved; and that this belongs to the amplitude of the Apostolic See, that the statutes and customs of so great a See, being established by the consent of the Churches, should retain their own proper stability."

I do not, of course, mean to claim Bossuet's authority for any thing beyond what he says. He begins the discussion by laying down that—

"[5] We Gallicans, equally with the rest, have ever acknowledged in Peter and his successors a plenitude of ecclesiastical power, 'which no man besides Christ, nay, not the whole Church, could confer or take away;' but" (he adds) "they taught at the same time that the use and exercise of this power was to be ruled (moderandum) by the canons, which saying of Gerson[6], not only the University of Paris and the Gallican Church, and

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[4] Def. Decl. Cleri Gall. xi 1, Œuvres xxxiii. 291.

[5] Ib. c. 2. p. 292.

[6] Gers. De Potest. Eccl. Cons. i. et x. T. ii., pp. 227. 240. Serm. cont. Bull. Mendic. Ib. p. 432. De Stat. Eccl. de Stat. Præl. Consid. iv. Ib. p. 352.

all our people, but also all highest authorities (optimi quique) throughout the world, have zealously maintained.

"This head (he adds) is twofold. For since ecclesiastical discipline is considered either universally or particularly, i. e., as it regards either the universal Church or particular Churches, as the Gallican, the Gallican fathers set forth, that in both respects the Church is not ruled arbitrarily by the Roman Pontiff, but the universal Church by the canons received every where, and *consecrated by the reverence of the whole world*[7]; and particular Churches, as the Gallican, by rules received in this Church. But under the name of rules they comprise approved customs, i. e. such as have obtained by the consent and use of the Apostolic See and of the Churches.

"This we lay (he says[8]) as the foundation, that the Roman Church is in this even specially eminent, that it both follows the canons, and prescribes by its authority that others should follow them.

"This S. Gelasius professes in a celebrated place, where he teaches; '[9]No See ought, more than others, to execute the enactment of Synods, all and each, which the assent of the universal Church has approved, than the first, which by its authority confirms every Synod; and, by a continued rule, guards the same.' See what the Roman See wills to execute and to direct to be executed, viz., what it has itself confirmed, and what the assent of the Universal Church has approved.

"And before him Zosimus, '[1]But it is unbefitting to extort from Bishops, engaged in a Council on certain grounds, this which, being contrary to the statutes of the Fathers and the reverence of Trophimus, who was first sent from this See as Metropolitan of Arles, not even the authority of this See could grant or change[2].' The excellent reason whereof he subjoins

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[7] The italics, &c., throughout are Bossuet's.

[8] Ib. c. 3. p. 293.

[9] Gelas. Ep. 13 ad Episc. Dard. Conc. iv. 1200.

[1] Zosim. Ep. 7 ad Episc. Prov. Narb. et Vienn. Conc. ii. 1570.

[2] [It is unexplained how, after this, in the dissension between

in these words, 'For with us antiquity lives, never to be uprooted, the reverence to which the statutes of the Fathers have sanctioned.'

"This, which, on occasion of the Church of Arles, Zosimus says of the peculiar rights of Churches, is the same as we have seen contained in the second place, in this third head of the Gallican declaration.

"Hence Leo the Great, '[3] Too wrong, too perverted are those things, which are proved to be contrary to the most holy canons.'

"S. Gregory the Great; '[4] If ye do not keep the canons, and will to uproot the statutes of the Fathers, I own you not.'

"S. Martin, a most learned Pope and noble Martyr, '[5] We cannot undo the ecclesiastical canons, who are maintainers and guardians, not transgressors of the canons."

"And S. Leo III. to the legates of Charlemagne, '[6] Far be it from me, not only that I should prefer myself, but that I should set myself on a par with them' (the fathers of the Council of Chalcedon) when he was asked to make a change in the discipline of singing the Creed[7].

"S. Leo IV., '[8] We could not change the bounds set by the Fathers.'

"Nicholas I., that most energetic defender of Apostolic

S. Leo and Hilary of Arles, Leo came to think that the Metropolitan power had been by privilege conceded for a time to Patroclus, the immediate predecessor of Hilary. In act, he directly contravened Pope Zosimus.]

[3] S. Leo, Ep. 80 ad Anastas. C. P.

[4] S. Greg. M. Ep. L. iii. Ind. 11. Ep. 53 ad Joan. C. P. T. ii. 663.

[5] Martin. 1. Ep. 9, ad Pantal. Conc. vi. 33.

[6] Rescr. Leo III. ad Carol. M., Conc. vii. 1195.

[7] "Leo could never be induced to add to the Creed the word *Filioque*: for he said, the fathers of Chalcedon prohibited any change. Then, soon after, he subjoined what Bossuet quoted" (Edit. Paris).

[8] Fragm. Ep. Leon. IV. ad Loth. Imp. Conc. viii. 35.

authority, said of the deposition of Ignatius and substitution of Photius, contrary to the canons, '[0] These things we must necessarily meet, who hold the helm of our law, i. e. of the canons.' And afterwards, 'Let the ancient form of the canons of the Fathers be preserved.' And in another Epistle on the same subject, '[1] The Roman Church in all its acts ever follows the purest authorities of the holy Fathers.'"

"So did the Roman Church require others to keep the ancient rules, which she herself was the first to keep. Hence also Nicholas I., in his Epistle to Photius, teaches that the Roman Church is the head of all Churches, and that '[2] they should inquire of her and follow the right order in all ecclesiastical institutions, which she inviolably and irrefragably retained, according to the canonical and synodical sanctions of the holy Fathers.'

"Hence" (Bossuet observes[3]) "we have scarcely any special canons for ordering the discipline in the Roman Church; but the same things which were enjoined in all Churches, either obtained from the first in the Roman Church, or were most diligently received and guarded in it. So celibacy was annexed to holy orders; translations were forbidden; and every thing which was forbidden to other Churches the Roman Church understood to be even specially forbidden to itself."

Bossuet instances the act of Boniface II.[4], who owned himself guilty before the Divine Majesty for having made a constitution whereby Vigilius should be his successor, contrary to the canons, and burned it; and that for near 900 years there was no translation to the Apostolic See. And even when the contumelies used towards Formosus[5], who had

[0] Nicol. I. Ep. 2 ad Michael. Imp. Ib. 272.
[1] Id. Ep. 5 ad eumd. col. 279.
[2] Nicol. I. Ep. 6 ad Phot. Conc. viii. 283.
[3] Ib. c. 4.
[4] Lib. Pont. Anas. in Vit. Bonif. II. Conc. iv. 1682.
[5] Pope A.D. 891.

been so translated, were condemned, it was guarded that this should not be a precedent, "[6] since the sacred canons wholly forbid it." Even "[7] in that most corrupt tenth century"—

"John, who had been deposed, pleaded no privileges of his See, great and well-known as they were; neither he nor the Bishops adduced any canons as to his See; he supported himself by the statutes of the Fathers, by the authority of General Councils, the common canon, whereby courtiers and unexamined neophytes were debarred from the Clericature."

Bossuet gives also an instance so late as A. 948, where, in a French Synod, the restoration of Hugo of Rheims, which had been simply directed in a letter from Pope Agapetus, "containing nothing of canonical authority," was resisted; and "Hugh was enjoined to abstain from the communion and rule of the Bishopric of Rheims, until he had presented himself before a general Synod (of German and French Bishops) to clear himself[8]."

French Bishops again resisted the consecration of a Basilica by a Cardinal delegated by John XVII., when Hugh, Archbishop of Tours, on canonical grounds, had refused it.

"[9] The Gallican Bishops, hearing this, pronounced that this sacrilegious presumption proceeded from blind cupidity."

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[6] Conc. Rom. sub Joan. ix. c. 3. Conc. ix. 503.

[7] Boss. Ib. c. 5. p. 303.

[8] From Flodoard. in Chron. A. 948. Vid. Conc. T. ix., 622, 623.

[9] Rod. Glaber. ii. 4 ap. Duches. T. iv.

And again,—

"Although the Pontiff of the Roman Church, on account of the dignity of the Apostolic See, is held in greater reverence than the Bishops throughout the world, yet he may not in any thing transgress the tenour of canonical rule."

Lastly,—

"All alike detesting it, because it seemed so unbefitting that he who ruled the Apostolic See should transgress the primitive Apostolic tenour of the canons."

"The destruction of the Basilica and consequent prevention of the consecration was attributed to the judgment of God. A. 1004."

The beginning of the independence of the monks from their Bishop was formally resisted on the same ground.

"Gauslen, Bishop of Maçon, gravely expostulated about the ordination of some monks of Cluny by Burchard of Vienne, by virtue of a privilege which they had from the Roman Church. Whereon the Synod of Ansa enacted thus: '[1] Reading anew the judgments of the holy Council of Chalcedon and of many authentic Councils, which enjoin how the abbots and monks in each country should be subject to their own Bishop, and that a Bishop should not presume to ordain or consecrate in the diocese of another without the licence of the Bishop himself, they decreed that the Charter was invalid, as not only not agreeing with, but even contravening the canonical judgments. The Archbishop, being convinced by reason, asked pardon of Gauslen, and made amends to him by a mulct, put upon him. A. 1025."

Even in the time of Gregory VII., Bossuet quotes the second Council of Limoges, which laid

[1] Conc. Ans. A. 1025. Conc. ix. 858.

down, "[2] it is not lawful for any to receive penance and absolution from the Apostolic See, without consulting his Bishop." Pope Gregory, who had been imposed upon, rescinded his absolution, saying, "[3] I profess that I desire rather to be the helper and comforter of my fellow-Bishops every where than to contravene them." Another Bishop is quoted in the Council, who refused to confirm his act, in imposing a penance. "[4] I cannot believe that this mandate came from him, as being against the canons." "'The Bishops said, this we hold as provided from the Roman Apostolic See itself and from the other Fathers,' that what is obtained, contrary to the canons, should have no force, and should seem to have been extorted against the mind of the Apostolic See."

"[5] So then," Bossuet sums up, "the whole system of discipline rests on the ancient institutions; and both the Bishops profess that they obey 'according to the canons,' and the Roman Pontiffs, that they are both ruled and rule 'according to the canons.'

"[6] But after that, amid the decay of discipline and the growth of ambition and adulation, this rule was departed from, and the Roman Pontiffs began, by extraordinary mandates, reservations, and tenths, to impose heavy burdens, some pecuniary, and gradually to draw to themselves the rights of the Bishops and Clergy; S. Louis published the Pragmatic Sanction, to restrain these new and daring attempts. These are the words

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[2] Conc. Lemov. II. Sess. ii. Conc. ix. 906.
[3] Ib. col. 908.
[4] Ib. 909.
[5] Ib. c. 8. p. 314.
[6] Ib. c. 9.

of the first chapter: '[7] We enact and ordain that the Prelates of the Churches of our realm, the Patrons and ordinary Collators to benefices, have their full plenary right, and that his own jurisdiction be preserved to each.' C. 2. 'Also let Cathedral Churches and other Churches of our realm have their elections free, and carry them integrally into effect.' C. 4. 'Also we will and ordain that promotions, collations, provisions, and dispositions of prelatures, dignities, and all other ecclesiastical benefices and offices of our realm whatsoever take place according to the disposition, ordination, and determination of common law, the sacred Councils of the Church of God, and the ancient institutes of the holy Fathers.' A. 1268 ('1269 before Easter').

"These are what we call the liberties of the Gallican Church, to be governed by common law, the authority of Councils, and the institutes of the Fathers."

There was yet a fifth chapter in authentic records, though omitted in the earlier editions of the Bibliotheca Patrum.

"[8] Also the exactions and very heavy money-burdens which

[7] Prag. Sanct. S. Lud. Conc. xi. 907, 908. Boch. Decr. Eccl. Gall. Preuves des Libert. de l'Égl. Gall. T. ii. c. 15, n. 36, p. 76, ed. 1731.

[8] Conc. xiv. 446. ed. Col. The Paris editors of Bossuet refer for this chapter to the "Mémoire et avis de M. Jean du Tillet—sur les Libertés de l'Église Gallicane," who printed it out of the "Commentaria Curiæ Parisiensis" "entire and authentic, as it is found in the ancient registers; and as it has been heretofore printed in the oldest Proceedings of the Parliament of A. 1515, and even in a book of M. Hélie, formerly Archbishop of Tours, for the Concordat, printed at Thoulouse A. 1518." "It was omitted," Bossuet says, "by M. de la Bigne, in the 'Bibliotheca Patrum' (and by others following him), he having a defective copy, which should now be supplemented out of more entire copies: whether the good man had a scruple as to any thing being published under the name of

have been imposed by the Roman curia upon the Church of our realm, whereby our realm has been miserably impoverished, as well as any which shall hereafter be imposed, we will not that they be levied or collected; save only for any reasonable pious and most urgent cause or inevitable necessity, and of the spontaneous and express consent of ourselves and of the Church of our realm."

Had we had a S. Louis, instead of a sovereign who, owning no master except his lusts, his rapacity, and his ambition, confounded all, right and wrong, the great quarrel between the Crown of England and the Pope in the sixteenth century might have been averted.

The question of the superiority of a General Council to the Pope, or conversely, had a direct practical interest, when the Council of Pisa, as "[9] representing the universal Church," "assembled by the grace of the Holy Ghost," "having," as it alleged, "duly heard the cause," condemned and deprived the two rival Popes, Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., and, seven years afterwards, the Council of Constance deposed John XXIII. for his crimes[1]. These things have long passed away. But the principle involved in the declaration of the Council of Constance, that a General Council was superior to a Pope, went much deeper. For it rested on the

S. Louis, whereby the Roman Curia seemed to be blamed, or whether the printers feared that inconvenience should be occasioned them by the attaching of notes of censure. Any how, that fifth article had been quoted long before." Def. xi. 9, pp. 317, 318.

[9] Conc. Pis. Sess. xv. [1] Conc. Const. Sess. Gen. xii.

alleged infallibility of a General Council, as the representative of the whole Church, to which our Lord had promised that "the gates of hell should not prevail against it," and contrariwise on the fallibility of the Pope. This even Denys of Reichel lays down, who, Bossuet says [2], "was the one of all, who maintained most vehemently the superiority of the Pope to the Church, even when assembled."

"[3] In some things, viz. in those which properly and directly relate to the province of a General Council, and for the determination or expediting of which it is held, in these things the Council appears to be above the Pope, so that the Council in voting is free; nor has the Pope any coercive power over it in such causes, and we have to abide by the determination of a General Council rather than of the Pope. Such causes are, the extirpation of heretical pravity and of schism; the declaration of the faith and publication of its creed; the universal reformation of the Church in its head and members. So then, in expediting these things, the power of the General Council is said to be greater than that of the Pope, because Christ promised to the Church, or to a Council representing it, infallible direction and His unceasing glorious assistance: so that it cannot err in faith, nor in those things which appertain to morals, because in determining such things it is guided immediately by the Holy Ghost. Whence the Pope too is bound in such things to abide by the determination of the Church or the statutes of the Council, as the ordinance and sentence of the Holy Ghost. *And since the Pope can err in faith and morals and other things which are of necessity of salvation, it seemeth that we are not to abide ultimately and entirely by his judgment in these things, since it is not an infallible rule or an*

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[2] App. ad Def. Decl. Cler. Gall. i. 9, Œuvres xxxiii. 479.

[3] Tract. de Auct. Papæ et Conc. P. 1. art. 27. T. i. f. 340 v. Col. 1532, quoted by Bossuet, Ib. 480.

unerring foundation." "This," says Bossuet, "according to him, did not interfere with the superiority of the Pope to a Council, since 'that infallible direction by the Holy Ghost does not seem to appertain to the superiority of power or of presidential jurisdiction; but rather it is a supernatural gift of the Holy Ghost, actual rather than habitual: therefore it is not adequately proved by this, that the power of the Council is above the power of the Pope, but that the grace and perfection of the universal Church is greater."

This same distinction is made by that most energetic defender of the Papal superiority, Card. de Turrecremata :—

"[4] If such a case should happen, that all the fathers meeting in an universal Synod should unanimously make any definition of faith, and the Pope alone contradict it, I should say, that we must abide by the Synod, not by the person of the Pope. For the judgment of so many fathers of one universal Synod, in matter of faith, seemeth rightly to be preferred to the judgment of one man: in which case that gloss in the c. Anastasius, Dist. xix. comes in excellently; 'that, in a matter of faith, the Pope is bound to seek for a Council of Bishops[5];' which is to be understood, when the case is very doubtful and a Synod can be called, and then the Synod is greater than the Pope, not in power of jurisdiction, but by the authority of discerning judgment and largeness of knowledge." "[6] But if it should happen that the Pope should be unwilling to acquiesce, OBEY, and stand by such things as the whole Synod should unanimously declare by plainest testimonies of Scripture or by the doctrine of the Fathers to appertain to faith, but should contumaciously contradict the same, being openly declared to appertain to the Catholic Faith, then, as being a heretic, he would come to be

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[4] Apol. seu Resp. ad Basil. Conc. xiii. 1701, quoted by Boss. Ib. L. ii. c. 1. p. 530.

[5] Dist. xix. c. ix.

[6] Turr. Ib. 1701, 1702, Boss. p. 531.

subject to the Council, as would any other who went aside from the faith."

"[7] Here you have in plainest terms, the Pope in a question of faith contumaciously differing from the sentence of the Synod, and the question nevertheless defined by the sacred Synod, by a supreme judgment, amid the contradiction of the Pope, the Pope animadverted on with full authority, and the sentence of the Synod standing. This is the teaching of Turrecremata, in the hearing and with the approval of the Pontiff himself, when Turrecremata wished to ascribe to the Pontifical authority the very utmost which he could imagine, as granted to him by Christ.

"Nor did any one in those days doubt thereon. Peter de Monte, Bishop of Brescia, an eminent lawyer, most zealous on the side of Eugenius, thought the same at the same time, viz., that when the question was of faith and on occasion of a schism, even an undoubted Pope might be deposed by the Synod; and if the sentence of the Pope should contradict the sentence of the Council, the sentence of the Synod was rather to be abided by. Nay, the Bull 'Deus novit' was then published in the name of Eugenius IV., but dictated, as it seems, by Turrecremata, so much do its purport, spirit, nay, the very words agree with his writings. In it, how immeasurably soever they extolled the Pontifical power, they yet said:—'[8] If a Pope or his legate objected to arrange any thing, or were affected contrary to the Council, the sentence of the Pope, or of his legate, representing the person of the Pope, not the will of the Council, would be to be followed; since the Pope has power above all Councils; *unless, perchance, what was to be enacted related to the Catholic faith;* or unless, if omitted, it would notably disturb the condition of the universal Church, because then the *sentence of the Council would be to be attended to.*"

Bossuet quotes to the same end another eminent Canonist[9], also on the side of Eugenius, who says,—

[7] Boss. Ib. p. 531. [8] Bull. Eugen. IV. Conc. xii. 537.

[9] Anton. de Rosellis, "a Pontifical and Imperial Councillor, a strenuous defender of Eugenius IV. in the Council of Basle."

"[10] The judgment of the Pope alone is submitted to the judgment of an universal Council in these cases: in a cause of faith, of schism, and when the question relates to the good of the universal Church; and so in my days the general Council of Constance enacted." He accordingly "[11] held our Lord's Prayer, 'I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not,' to belong, not to the Pontiff as a private person, not to the Pontiff even decreeing as to the faith, but to the Church." And "although he held that, 'If the Pope committed countless murders with his own hand, if he committed simony a thousand times, he could be judged by no one,' yet contumacy in such deeds he accounted heresy, for which he could be judged."

Having laid down that the Pope could be judged by a Council in the one case of heresy, he added,—

"[1] Which is the case also as to every offence which scandalizes the Church, that the Pope may be judged for it by a Council, when, being admonished, he remains incorrigible and persists in his obstinacy; for such contumacy is heresy."

S. Antoninus also, who was alleged as saying,—

"[2] The Pope in those things which appertain to the faith cannot err, viz., as Pope, in determining, 'although he may as a particular and private person;'" yet shows that he meant that, "[3] though he can err in faith as an individual, acting of his own motion, he cannot err when he uses the counsel and seeks the help of the universal Church, God so ordaining, Who saith, 'I have prayed for thee.' Nor can it be that the universal Church should receive as Catholic any thing heretical, because the universal Church, which is the bride, both ever will be and is 'without spot and wrinkle.'" He admits that it might be

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[10] De Monarchia, P. iii. c. 27, Gold. T. i. p. 446., in Boss. Ib. ii. 3, p. 539.

[11] From Boss., Ib. [1] Ib. p. 443.

[2] Summa Theol. P. iv. tit. 8. c. 3. n. 5. p. 138. Ven. 1582.

[3] Anton. P. iii. tit. 23. c. 3. n. 4. Boss., p. 543.

'that a Pope should be a heretic, and will to enact what is heretical.'"

Lastly, Bossuet quotes Card. Jacobatius, "[4] whom Leo X. left as his Vicar at Rome, when he himself went to Bologna to treat of peace with Francis I." He still puts the case,—

"[5] If we are in a case of faith, and the Pope willeth to enact any thing contrary to faith, the sentence of the Council must rather be abided by."

And says,—

"[6] When the Pope is a heretic, he can be accused and declared deposed, which could not be, if in such things his sentence was to be abided by, rather than that of the whole Council, because he could always maintain himself by his own sentence."

He held, indeed, that in an arduous and very difficult question the decision of a Council might be suspended by a Pope; yet, if the case appeared to the fathers and the Council to be certain and clear, he held that the question might be decided at once; and the Pope, if he resisted, might be deposed by the Council,—

"[7] Else a great inconvenience might follow, that a Pope should be a heretic, and yet could not for heresy be removed from the Papacy, if he willed not to pass sentence on himself."

I will add one remark of Bossuet on the great difference between those of earlier times and those

[4] Boss. Ib. ii. 5, p. 548.

[5] De Conc. L. vi. p. 238 in altera App. Conc. Lab. in Bossuet, ib. c. 6. p. 550.

[6] Ib. p. 240.

[7] Ib. L. ix. p. 339.

of his own, who maintained the superiority of the Pope to a Council :—

"[8] I see now that those who set the Popes before Councils are mostly so minded, as to think that the Pontifical authority, which is to be above a Council, stands out chiefly in questions of faith. But contrariwise in the time of Eugenius, when that discussion about the authority of Councils was most fiery, when they preferred the Pontiff to the Synod in all things, they willed to except general matters, and chiefly those of faith; in these things, they presupposed as certain that the Council should prevail."

It is an unwelcome employment, to dwell upon the errors of the departed, and those, in high office in the Church of God; yet the question of the infallibility of the Pope is, in one respect, a matter of fact. If one single case of those in which Popes are alleged to have erred on matters of faith hold good, then the doctrine of the absolute infallibility of the Pope fails. One case of error in a Pope of course, precludes the universal negative, "Popes cannot err." The question is so grave, and the decision that Popes are infallible would involve consequences so wide and deep, that even to you, who, I know, do not agree with me about this question which is still open, I must go over the old ground, why we do not believe that infallibility, the assertion of which by the coming Council, we trust, is impossible, as it would be most fatal to all hopes of re-union.

[8] App. ii. 1. p. 532.

In the first case of Liberius I must go over ground which you have trodden in your instructive writings on Arianism. The second, of Honorius, is also, I know, beaten ground to you: would that you had given us the results of your labours on the Monophysite heresy also!

1. The case of Liberius is not of personal loss of faith, but of the denial of the faith which he held in his heart, in order to recover the See, upon which his denial has been a blot. His own letters agree with S. Jerome's statement, that he was worn out by the weariness of his exile[9]; in the language of Baronius, the desire of recovering his See was "[10] the Delilah which seduced this Samson." The question, which of the Sirmian Creeds he subscribed, or whether he subscribed any extant Sirmian Creed, is altogether subordinate[1]. S. Hilary calls his subscription "[2] Arian

[9] Chron. A. D. 352.

[10] T. iii. A. 357, n. 33, p. 709, quoted by Boss. ix. 34.

[1] Liberius himself says that what he "received" was "the Creed which at Sirmium was by many of our brethren and fellow-Bishops considered, set forth, and received by all present." Liberius speaks of it as the Creed of those to whom he was writing, "his most beloved brethren the Presbyters and fellow-Bishops of the East," i. e. of the Arian and Semi-Arian Bishops, "your Catholic Creed," (Ep. Lib. in S. Hil. Fragm. vi. 5). Bellarmine, who referred to these Epistles of Liberius, when in MS. in the Vatican, doubted not of their genuineness (de Rom. Pont. iv. 9, col. 1001) any more than Natal. Alex., Tillemont, Fleuri, Ceillier, Montfaucon, Coustant, Möhler, Dollinger, quoted by Renouf, "The Condemnation of Pope Honorius," p. 45.

[2] Fragm. vi. 5.

faithlessness;" S. Jerome, "[3]heresy" or "[4]heretical pravity:" even S. Athanasius, tenderly as he speaks of his fall, implies that it was heresy which he subscribed[5]. If Sozomen were to be trusted, Liberius subscribed that "the Son was not of one substance with the Father," while he denied the special Anomœan Creed, "rejecting those who denied that the Son is like the Father in substance and in all things[6]."

But the subscription to the Sirmian Creed was but the beginning of this, which would have been the most miserable tragedy in the history of the

[3] De Virr. Ill. c. 97. [4] Chron. l. c.

[5] Arian Hist. § 41, p. 254. Oxf. Tr. He contrasts the subscription of Liberius with his previous "hatred of heresy," and as contrary to his first judgment, the act of his tormentors rather than his own.

[6] iv. 15. He says also that the Creed which Liberius subscribed was made of "what had been decreed against Paul of Samosata and Photinus at Sirmium [the first Sirmian Creed], and the Creed set forth at the dedication." See in Counc. of Arim. and Seleuc. § 23—27 (S. Ath. Select. Treat. pp. 106. 117 sqq. Oxf. Tr.), but these have no distinct Arian expressions, and are explained favourably by S. Hilary, who condemns as "Arian faithlessness" the subscription of Liberius. Nor do they contain the denial of the Homöousion, as stated by Sozomen himself. The Arian Philostorgius also says "that Liberius subscribed against 'the Homöousion, and moreover against Athanasius,'" iv. 3. iii. 503. Read. Faustinus and Marcellinus, A.D. 384, speak of "his consent, whereby he had yielded by faithlessness," in explanation of the answer of Constantius to the people of Rome, who asked for him. "He, assenting, said, 'Ye have Liberius, who returns to you, better than he went from you'" (Libell. Prec. Præf. B. P. v. 652).

Church, save that, by God's mercy, he recovered. The letters written to Arians and Semi-Arians, including the very worst of Arians, in which he declares, that "Athanasius is removed from the communion of us all, so that I am not to receive even his letters," and "I am quite at peace and concord with you all, and with all the Eastern [Arian] Bishops, I speak in true faith the same as my common lord and fellow-Bishop, Demophilus," one of the worst of the Arians, and declares "separated from our communion all who dissent from our peace and concord, which by the will of God is established throughout the world" (the letter is addressed to Ursacius and Valens, who were foremost in every plan against the truth) —these letters, in which he actively joins himself in opposition to God's truth with its worst enemies, are the consistent yet still more miserable sequel of that subscription. We have a Bishop of Rome "strengthening," not "the brethren," but the apostates; happy only in this, that after some seven months he recovered.

2. The sin, alas! of Honorius, was the use of his authority at a very critical time, for the suppression of the truth, equally with heresy—one of those miserable compromises by which unbelief is always the sole gainer. It was like the battle of the Homöousion revived. As *then* all the efforts of misbelievers were directed to supersede that one term, which alone was irreconcilable with their

heresies; so now, to get rid, at any cost, of the affirmation that our Lord exercised two distinct operations of His Godhead and His Manhood, which wholly excluded Eutychianism. Since our Lord had two perfect Natures in His One Person, each must have coincided in every act of His; but each must have acted. Hence the doctrine of two operations and two wills (of course perfectly coinciding) was a necessary consequence of the perfection of His two Natures. But although a person could not consistently be a Monothelite, or assert that our Blessed Lord had one Will only—His Divine, without being also an Eutychian or Apollinarian, there is no end of the inconsistency of the human intellect. Whether in sincerity or no, Cyrus of Alexandria and Sergius of Constantinople thought to gain the Eutychians by a compromise of asserting that there was "in Christ only one Theandric operation," which they ascribed to His Deity. Sophronius alone saw the peril to the faith, and applied first to Cyrus, then to Sergius, to have the term "one operation" struck out. On this Sergius wrote to Cyrus to prohibit both doctrines, of one or of two operations, representing that the latter implied the existence of two contrary wills in Christ; whereas, he said, "the Godhead governed the Manhood in Christ, as the soul does our bodies." He applied to Honorius[7],—

[7] Ep. Sergii ad Honor. in Conc. Const. iii. Act. xii. T. vii., 952—960. Col.

"By the grace of God which is in you, to fill up any thing lacking herein, and through your holy syllables to signify what you think hereon."

Sophronius, on the other hand, sent Stephen, Bishop of Dora, to Rome, "having adjured him on Mount Calvary," "by the account which he had to give to God, Who in the flesh was willingly crucified for us in this holy place," "to make known to the most holy men there all the commotions here [in the East], and to give them no rest until from Apostolic God-given wisdom they bring forth judgment to victory, and canonically effect an entire destruction of the adscititious doctrines, lest they spread like a cancer preying on the minds of the simple[8]."

Honorius replied to Sergius[9], speaking of the doctrine upheld by Sophronius, as "new and strife-loving questions of words," praising Sergius, that "with much forethought and circumspection he had removed the new terminology, which might cause scandal to the simple." After warning against deceiving the disciples of the fishermen by philosophy and vain deceit, he concludes,—

"These things, my brother, you will preach with us, as we too preach these things one-mindedly with you, exhorting you, that, fleeing the new terminology introduced, of one or two

[8] Libell. Steph., Ep. Dor. in Conc. Later. Secr. ii. Conc. vii., 108, 109. Col.

[9] Ib. 960—966.

operations, you will, with orthodox faith and Catholic unity, preach the Lord Jesus Christ, One with us, the Son of the Living God, Very God, operating in two natures the things both of the Godhead and the Manhood."

In a second letter to Sergius he says,—

"[1] I have written to our brother Cyrus also, the prelate of Alexandria, to overthrow these newly-invented terms of one or two operations—that this newly-introduced language of one or two operations should be cast out of the preaching of faith." "It is very absurd to *think* or to speak of there being or having been one or two operations in the Mediator between God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus."

He concludes,—

"[2] These things I have decided, most blessed brother, to make known to you, that I might show myself one-minded with your holiness in the setting forth of the one confession, that I am in harmony, in one spirit, with the like teaching of the faith: writing, moreover, to our common brethren, Bishops Cyrus and Sophronius, that they insist not on nor continue the new language of one or two operations, but that all such novel terminology being removed, they with us preach the one Lord Jesus Christ, operating what was Divine and human, in each nature. And especially I have instructed those whom our aforesaid brother and fellow-Bishop, Sophronius, sent to us, that he continue not hereafter to preach two operations."

This is the language and expedient of the Ecthesis of Heraclius, which prohibited both doctrines alike, and the doctrine of the Type of Constans, for rejecting which Martin I. ended his life as a Confessor. The Ecthesis and the Type had been considered and condemned in the Lateran

[1] Ib. Act. xiii. fin. 1002.

[2] In Conc. Later. Secr. iii. Conc. vii. 204.

Council under Martin I. Sergius and Cyrus, with whom Honorius declared his agreement, had been anathematized there[3]; of Honorius there had been no question, because his letters, having been directed to the Eastern Patriarchs, had not come before the Council; and the fact that the heretic Paulus of Constantinople alleged[4] as joint authorities Sergius and Honorius II. was, in itself, no proof. But the Monothelites still continued to plead the authority of Honorius, as agreeing with Sergius, Paulus, Peter, and other Monothelites. So did Macarius, the Monothelite Patriarch of Antioch, in the VIth General Council[5]. When, then, the letters of Honorius, agreeing with Sergius and Cyrus, had been found and read, I know not how consistently the Ecthesis, the Type, Sergius, and Cyrus could be rejected, and Honorius have been passed over. The Anathema of the Council is most absolute.

"[6] Having read the dogmatic letters, written by Sergius, formerly Patriarch of this God-protected and imperial city,

[3] Can. 18. Conc. T. vii. 363, 365.

[4] Ep. Paul. ad Theodor. Ib. Secr. iv. col. 234. The authority of Honorius had again been urged by Pyrrhus, A. D. 645, when in exile, in his disputation with Maximus, "What hast thou to say about Honorius, who openly to my predecessor expressed the dogma of the one will of our Lord Jesus Christ?" Disp. Max. c. Pyrrh. in Baronius, T. xi. p. 368.

[5] Act. viii. Ib. 769; also in his Exposition of faith, Ib. 777; he cites "the God-minded Honorius" in a memorial addressed to Honorius as the Emperor, Act. xi. Ib. 937.

[6] Conc. Const. iii. Act. xiii. Conc. vii. 977. Col.

both to Cyrus, at that time Bishop of Phasis, and to Honorius, who was Pope of the elder Rome, and in like way the letter written in reply by him, i. e. by Honorius to the same Sergius, and having found them to be altogether alien from the Apostolic teaching and the things defined by the holy Synods and all the eminent holy Fathers, and that contrariwise they follow the false teachings of the heretics, we altogether reject them and abhor them as soul-destroying. And we have judged that the very names of those whose impious doctrines we abhor should be cast out of the holy Church of God; i. e. of Sergius, formerly Bishop of this God-protected and imperial city, who first wrote on this impious dogma; of Cyrus of Alexandria; of Pyrrhus, Paul, and Peter, who also sat in the throne of this God-protected and imperial city, and were likeminded with those others. And besides these, we have judged that Honorius, who was Pope of the elder Rome, should be with them cast out of the holy Church of God and be anathematized with them, because we have found, from the letter written by him to Sergius, that he fully followed his mind in all things, and authoritatively confirmed[7] his impious dogmas."

In the same session[8], the Council, at the instance of the representatives of the Emperor, had sought out from the Patriarchal archives various Monothelite writings, letters of Cyrus, "Pope of Alexandria," to Sergius, the terms of agreement between Cyrus and the Theodosian heretics, and divers books of Theodore, Bishop of Pharan, autograph writings of Pyrrhus, Epistles of Paul to Pope Theodore and the Emperor, of Peter to Pope Vitalian; and a second letter from Honorius to Sergius. "[9] The holy Council said,—

"'We, having taken knowledge of these letters, papers, and

[7] κυρώσαντα, a technical term.

[8] Ib. 982—996.

[9] Ib. fin.

other writings, have ascertained, that they concur in one and the same impiety. And we have judged that they, as profane and soul-destroying, should be forthwith made over to the fire, for their complete annihilation.' And they were burnt."

Again, in its dogmatic decree, which was subscribed by Theodore as representing Pope Agatho, upon reciting the Creeds of Nice and Constantinople,—

"[1] The holy and Œcumenical Synod said, 'Sufficient for the perfect knowledge and confirmation of the orthodox faith is this pious and orthodox Creed of Divine grace. But since from the first the inventor of evil ceased not—and so now too having found fitting instrument for his own will, Theodore, who was Bishop of Pharan, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, Peter, who were prelates of this royal city; and moreover Honorius, who was Pope of old Rome, Cyrus, who was Bishop of Alexandria, and Macarius, lately prelate of Antioch, and Stephen his disciple, ceased not through them to stir up the scandals of deceit against the fulness of the Church, by new terms sowing among the orthodox people the heresy of one will and one energy in the two natures of One of the Holy Trinity."

Again, in answer to the inquiry of the Emperor,—

"[2] Whether the definition was promulgated with the consent of all, the holy Synod cried out with one voice, 'We all so believe, we all so think,' &c.; and then, after prayers for the Emperor, follow the anathemas on the heretics, in which Honorius is joined with Sergius: 'To Theodore of Pharan, anathema; to Sergius and Honorius, anathema; to Pyrrhus and Paulus, anathema,' &c."

In the address to the Emperor, which was also subscribed by Theodore as representing Pope Agatho [3], they subjoin to the other names which they had

[1] Ib. Act. xviii. col. 1058. [2] Ib. 1080. [3] Ib. 1094.

anathematized, "[4] and with them Honorius, who was prelate of Rome, as having followed them in these things."

In the Synodical Epistle to Pope Agatho, they imply his previous concurrence in the condemnation of Honorius. They say,—

"[5] We have slain them with anathemas, as having sinned concerning the faith, according to your sentence, which was previously passed upon them in your sacred writings, viz. Theodore, Bishop of Pharan, Sergius, Honorius, Cyrus, Paulus, Pyrrhus, and Peter."

If Honorius had not written what was heretical, the VIth General Council, having his letters before it, in condemning him for heresy; the Roman legates in agreeing in that condemnation; Pope Leo II. in formally accepting the Council, and anathematizing him, together with the authors of the Monothelite heresy, "who did not set himself to keep this Apostolic Church pure by the teaching of Apostolic tradition, but by a profane betrayal endeavoured to subvert the undefiled faith[6]," and

[4] Ib. 1089.

[5] Ib. 1110.

[6] Relat. ad Constantin. Ib. col. 1155. "Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who wrote the history of the Roman Pontiffs out of the documents of the Roman See, has under Leo II. as follows:—'He received the sixth Synod, which by the Providence of God was lately celebrated in the Imperial city—in which were condemned Cyrus, Sergius, Honorius, and Pyrrhus, Macarius also with his disciples, Stephen, and Polychronius too, a new Simon, who said, or publicly taught, or would again publicly teach or define one will and operation in the Lord Jesus Christ.'" Vita Leon. II. Conc. vii. 1451. Bossuet vii. 26, T. xxxii. p. 506.

again, when exhorting the Spanish Bishops who had not been represented in the Council, to adhere to it, accusing him equally with the rest, as a "[7] traitor against the purity of Apostolic tradition," "who did not, as befitted Apostolic authority, quench at its beginning the flame of heretical dogma, but, by neglecting, cherished it," and still more strongly to the Spanish king, Erwiga, first charging him, that he "[8] consented that the immaculate rule of

[7] Leo II. Ep. 2 ad Episc. Hisp. Conc. vii. 1456. Garnier says, "No learned man now listens to Baronius, who objects to the letters of the Emperor and of the supreme Pontiff as supposititious. App. ad notas c. 2 Lib. Diurn. p. 248. The Versailles Editors of Bossuet quote Massarelli: "How futile that accusation is as to the acts of the VIth Synod having been adulterated by the Greeks Massarelli himself shall be witness. 'Such a conjecture,' he says, 'has now become so improbable, that although at other times I might, with many learned and sensible writers, have suspected it; yet now, having at leisure diligently examined all the original documents, I should be ashamed, not absolutely to reject such a judgment. Nay, I see that the condemnation of the Epistle of Honorius is so connected with the condemnation of the Epistle of Sergius and of the Type of Constans, that, not only could the VIth Synod not abstain from it, but the delegates of the Pope, and the supreme Pontiff Agatho himself, and his successor Leo, ought, in consistency, to agree to it" (De Rom. Pont. Auctor. T. ii. p. 223).

[8] Ep. v. ad Ervig. Conc. vii. 1462. He must also, it seems, have been the author of the third "Profession of faith" in the Liber Diurnus. "Moreover I receive, embrace, and venerate the definition made, under the guidance of God, by the holy, universal, and great Sixth Synod, which lately sat in the royal city of Constantinople, in which it is plain that the legates of the Apostolic See presided, and which was gathered by the

Apostolic tradition, which he received from his predecessors, should be defiled," and then including him with the rest who, "preaching one will and one operation in the Godhead and Manhood of our Lord Jesus Christ, endeavoured shamelessly to defend the heretical doctrine;" another Pope, probably Gregory II.[9], in his solemn "Profession of faith" in entering on his office, by endorsing the act of the VIth General Council, "[1] which both proved manifestly, that those who endeavoured to defile by a new and heretical dogma the immaculate Church of God, were in error, and also condemned them, together with the authors and abettors of their error;" and more definitely after mention of the definition of the VIth Council, "[2] And who bound by the bond of a perpetual anathema the authors of the new heretical dogma,

decree of the most Christian, most pious Prince Constantine, crowned of God, and what it received I receive, and what or *whom* it rejected, I reject, and *whom* likewise it anathematized or condemned, I anathematize and condemn." Lib. Diurnus, p. 82. A previous clause, in which the Pope professes "that in conformity to what has been enacted by my predecessors, I will receive nothing new contrary to the Catholic and orthodox faith; nor, by the grace of God strengthening me, even if there should there be occasion to die, will I in any way give consent to those who rashly presume such things," probably (as Garnier thinks) refers to Honorius, whereon follows the acceptance of the VIth Council. On the authorship of this "Profession of faith" see Garnier's note, p. 74.

[9] See Garnier's note, ib. p. 58.

[1] Lib. Diurnus Rom. Pont. pp. 68, 69.

[2] Ib. pp. 70—72.

Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paulus, and Peter, all of Constantinople, together with Honorius, who fomented their perverse assertions; and Theodore of Pharan, &c., with all the heretical writings and their followers, who execrably asserted one will and one operation in Christ," &c.; the VIIth and VIIIth General Councils (the VIIIth being wholly under Roman influence) in repeating the anathemas of the VIth[3]; Pope Adrian II., in justifying the judgment on and condemnation of Honorius (notwithstanding the maxim that the first See was not judged by any) in that his was an exceptional case, because he was accused of heresy, in which case the accused might be judged by his inferiors[4]; the

[3] The VIIth General Council (Nic. II.) recited the faith and related the anathemas of the VIth, "Further we proclaim the two wills and energies, according to the properties of the natures in Christ, in what way the sixth Synod in Constantinople proclaimed, rejecting Sergius, Honorius, Cyrus, Pyrrhus, Macarius, unwillers of godliness, and those likeminded with them" (Act. 7. Defin. Conc. viii. 1205. Col.). The VIIIth Council anathematized them directly. "We anathematize Theodore, who was Bishop of Pharan; and Sergius and Pyrrhus and Paul and Peter, the impious Prelates of the Church of Constantinople, and with them Honorius of Rome with Cyrus of Alexandria." Conc. Constant. IV. Act. x. Defin. Conc. x. 653. Col.

[4] "We have read that the Roman Pontiff has judged as to the Prelates of all Churches; but we have not read that any one has judged him. For although Honorius was after his death anathematized by the Easterns, we should know that he had been accused for heresy, on account of which alone it is lawful for inferiors to resist the ways of their superiors, and freely to reject their wrongful minds. Although in this case

Roman Church, in that, until the latter half of the sixteenth century, it read as instruction in the Breviary[5] the fact that Pope Leo confirmed the holy Sixth Synod, "in which were condemned Cyrus, Sergius, Honorius, Pyrrhus, Paul, and Peter, who asserted or preached one will and operation in the Lord Jesus Christ"—all these would have been guilty of one prolonged false witness; a prolonged false witness of about 900 years!

3. In regard to the permission of Polygamy under certain circumstances by Gregory II., Bellarmine admits the error, and only contends that—

"[6]It cannot be said that this error of Gregory is manifest

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too neither Patriarchs nor any other Bishops would have a right to utter any sentence whatever without the authority of the previous consent of the Pontiff of that same first See" (In Synod. Rom., quoted in VIII. Conc. Gener. Act. 7. T. viii. 1091, Boss.). According to this broad assertion, Pope Hadrian must have felt certain that Pope Agatho had previously sanctioned the judgment on Honorius.

[5] "Vid. Brev. Rom. ante recog. Pii V. et Clem. VIII. die xxviii. Jan." (Bossuet). In the old Breviary it was "in which Synod were condemned Syrus [Cyrus] Sergius, *Honorius*, Pyrrhus, Paul and Peter, and Macarius, with his disciple Stephen, and Polychronius too, the new Simon [Magus], who spake or preached, or would have preached or defended one will and operation in the Lord Jesus Christ" (Less. iii.). The present Breviary only mentions that "Cyrus, Sergius, and Pyrrhus were condemned in that Council for preaching one will and operation only in Christ" (Less. v.), omitting Honorius.

[6] De Rom. Pont. iv. 12. Bellarmine with the Decr. (P. 2, Caus. xxxii. q. 7. c. 18) calls him Gregory III.; Bossuet, Richter, Conc. viii. 178 with older authorities, say, Gregory II.

heresy against the Gospel. For Gregory did not teach that a wife might be divorced and another married; which is expressly against the Gospel and the law of nature; but he taught that in a certain case, with permission of the wife[7], a man might marry a second wife, so as to have two wives, as Abraham did. Which is indeed false, and is so defined in the Council of Trent, Sess. 24, can. 2. But it does not seem then to have been an ascertained error," &c.

But, as relates to infallibility, Bellarmine's answer gives up the whole question:—

"[8] Nor can it be said that Gregory II. answered herein as a private Doctor. For, being asked by S. Boniface of Maintz, he gave response, as to the things appertaining to the ordering of the infant German Church: 'As to what thou hast proposed to me, that if a woman, seized by some sickness, is unable *debitum reddere*, what is the husband to do? It would be well, if he should so abide, as to abstain altogether; but because this is the fortitude of great souls, let him who cannot contain, rather marry.' Wherefore Gregory mentions that they were written '[9]out of the authority [vigore] of the Roman See,' and calls that, his doctrine, 'the doctrine of the Apostolic authority [vigoris], through the blessed Peter, from whom was the beginning of the Apostolate and Episcopate.'"

"[1] But, I ask, what could be said more significantly to express the full authority of the Pontifical response according to the power of the Chair of Peter? And yet that answer, according to Gratian, '[2]is found absolutely opposed to Evangelic and Apostolic doctrine.'"

4 *a.* "[3] No one," Bossuet says, "can defend the

[7] This limitation does not appear in the Response.
[8] Boss. Def. Cleri Gall. ix. 37. T. xxxiii. 117, 118.
[9] "Greg. II. Ep. ix. ad Bonifac. Conc. Gall. i. 519." Boss.
[1] Id. Diss. Præv. n. 52. T. xxxi. 121.
[2] Caus. xxxii. q. 7. c. 18.
[3] Def. &c. Ib. p. 118.

responses of Stephen II. (A.D. 1057) to various consultations [4]."

Response 3. "[5] If any one in a foreign land shall have married a servant-maid, and afterwards, returning to his own country, shall marry one of good birth, and he should happen to return to that his former land, and that servant-maid whom he previously married should be united to another man, such an one may take another woman, yet not during the life of that well-born woman whom he had in his own country."

"This response of Stephen II. seems to proceed from a misunderstanding of a decree of S. Leo, '[6]To cast a maidservant from his bed, and to take a wife of undoubted birth, is not a repetition of marriage, but an advance in honesty of life.' Leo, however, was not speaking of a true and rightful marriage with a maidservant, but of illicit union with a servile person, which might be dissolved at will; seeing that the laws leave to such an one no claim, no action, no complaint against a free man. But it is plain that Stephen II. is speaking of a maidservant united by lawful marriage, since he allows him to return to her company, unless she be united to another man. So he dissolves the marriage with the servant-maid, forbids that with the lady of birth [which was, of course, null from the beginning, the man being already married to the servant], a difference which the Gospel knows nothing of, the canons allow not, many of which you would find in Gratian, dist. xxix. q. 11, and elsewhere."

4 *b*. "The same Stephen in his eleventh response says,—

"'If one baptized in wine a child in peril of life, because he found no water, he is not to be blamed: let the children so abide in that same Baptism.'

"By which response, both the salvation of the child wrongly

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[4] Bellarmine does not notice them.

[5] "Resp. Steph. II., Art. iii. Conc. vi. 1650."

[6] Leo I. Ep. 2 ad Rust. Narbon. inquis. 7.

baptized was emperilled, and a wide door was opened to the like error. But this and other responses, although given by successors of Peter formally interrogated, have fallen through of themselves, because the supreme and irrefragable authority of the Church did not admit them."

5. "Nor is that response to the consultation of the Bulgarians by Nicholas I., though an excellent and learned Pontiff, more approved, wherein he decrees that Baptism, '[7] whether conferred in the Name of the Holy Trinity, or only in the Name of Christ,' is altogether valid, and confirms a false, certainly a doubtful baptism equally with a true and certain one, and exposes the infant Church of the Bulgarians to the risk of false Baptism, and that, not, by the way, according to the over-fine distinctions of the schools, but by express decree, adducing, moreover, authority for this from the Acts of the Apostles and S. Ambrose, that he might not seem to have said it lightly."

Bellarmine admits the error[8], but pleads, that it was not the main point upon which Nicholas was consulted.

"What he meant to teach in that canon, was not as to the form of Baptism, but only as to its minister, about which he had been asked. So, after he had answered and defined, that Baptism was valid, though given by a Jew or heathen, which was the main question, he added by the way, that Baptism was valid, whether given in the Name of the Three Persons, or in

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[7] "Nicolai Resp. ad Cons. Bulg. civ., Conc. viii. 548, and Gratian, dist. iv. c. 2, 3, *A quodam Judæo.*"

[8] De Rom. Pont. iv. 12, col. 1023.

the Name of Christ only. Wherein he followed the judgment of Ambrose (De Sp. S. i. 3) as he himself says there. Which judgment is indeed false, as I think, but not heretical. For there is no certain definition of the Church hereon, and the judgments of the fathers also are found to differ."

6. The history of the "Exordinations," or annulling of Orders by Sergius III. I will give from Bellarmine.

"[9] Formosus, Card. and Bishop of Portus, having been deposed, degraded and reduced to the condition of a layman by Pope John VIII., left the city and swore that he would never return to the city or the Episcopate. John VIII. dying soon after, his successor, Martin II., absolved Formosus from an oath unguardedly uttered, and restored him to his former dignity. Soon after, Formosus was created Pope, lived five years, and was gathered to his fathers. Stephen VI. succeeds, who, burning with great hatred against Formosus, and either not knowing or not believing that he was absolved by Pope Martin from his oath, publicly decrees in a Council of Bishops, that Formosus never was a lawful Pontiff, and that therefore all his acts ought to be void; and he compelled those who had received Holy Orders from him to be re-ordained, as if they had received nothing from him. This was disapproved by all, and so three Pontiffs in succession, Romanus I., Theodorus II., and especially John IX., having summoned another Council of Bishops, judged that Formosus was a true Pontiff, and annulled the sentence of Stephen VI. Sergius III. succeeded afterwards, and imitated Stephen VI. in every thing. The main question was, whether Formosus was a legitimate Pope or no; in questions of which sort we do not deny that Pontiffs may err, or that Stephen and Sergius did, in fact, err.

"But you will object, Stephen and Sergius not only judged that Formosus was not a true Pontiff, but also that the Holy Orders which he had conferred were not valid; which is a

[9] De Rom. Pont. iv. 12. col. 1024, 1025.

manifest error against the Faith. For even if Formosus had not been Pope, and had always continued deposed and degraded, yet because he had been once a true Bishop, and was so as to 'character' and power of Orders, which could no-ways be taken away, it is an error in faith to say, that the Holy Orders conferred by him were not true Holy Orders.

"I answer, that Stephen and Sergius did not publish any decree, that persons ordained by a degraded Bishop, or specially by Formosus as being degraded, were to be reordained; but only, in fact, commanded that they should be reordained. Which command proceeded, not from ignorance or heresy, but from hatred to Formosus. For Sigebert notes in his Chronicle, A. 1403, that Stephen VI. by force disordained those who had been ordained by Formosus, almost all exclaiming against it."

This is a fine distinction, that a Pontiff may do what implies heresy, but that he remains infallible if he do not utter the heresy upon which he acts. At the time, he was accused of acting against the Catholic Faith.

"At this time," says Bossuet, "[1] happened those '[2] exordinations' and 'superordinations' which Auxilius, an excellent Presbyter of those times, deplored[3]. He then, being disordained by Sergius III. on account of Formosus, remained in the ministry and induced others, who were put out of the ministry (*dejectis*) on the same ground, to abide—on this ground very chiefly, that if all ordinations which came from Formosus were null, Italy, far and wide, 'would for now twenty years have lived without the Christian religion, without priesthood, without sacraments[4].'

"He, being for this and other causes commanded by Sergius,

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[1] Def. &c. ix. 31, p. 93.

[2] Ordinations annulled or repeated.

[3] "Vid. lib. Auxil. de Sacr. Ord. B. P. xvii. p. 4 sqq."

[4] Ib. c. 27. p. 9.

under pain of excommunication, to abstain from the ministry of the priesthood, published a book, 'On Sacred Ordinations,' and afterwards a dialogue entitled '[5] Assailant and Defendant,' and answered that pastors, when commanding things unjust, were not to be obeyed; that excommunication passed on such grounds was accounted null[6]; that Pontifical Sees were one thing, the actual prelates another; that the honour and dignity of each See was to be retained with all veneration, but if the prelates went out of the way, they were not to be followed out of the way, i. e. if they began to act against the Faith or the Catholic religion[7]. See what he upbraided the Roman Pontiff! He added that excommunication was not to be observed, which *appertained to the commission of misdeeds.* It might be then that one should be driven by the Roman Pontiff to misdeeds, under pain of excommunication. He concluded in his own name and that of his companions; '[8]So then, abiding in the sacred Orders, wherewith we are consecrated, we await the most equitable examination of an universal Council.' That Council, too, he expected, not from the Pontiff, who was throwing every thing into confusion, but from the Emperor. Sigebert[9] first, then Baronius[1] himself makes honourable mention of the Presbyter Auxilius. Baronius, indeed, says that all this, which Auxilius deplored, was perpetrated by persons invading and intruded into the Apostolic See, usurping the name of Pontiff. But Auxilius does not so defend himself, nor does he answer that Sergius, being an illegitimate Pontiff, was with impunity despised by him; but he has recourse to those things which forbid true Pontiffs to be obeyed, when commanding perverse things."

7. Celestine III., though gently blamed by Innocent III., allowed that marriage was dissolved by heresy. Innocent says,—

[5] Infensor et Defensor.
[6] Ib. c. 34, p. 10.
[7] Id. Dial. ad Leon. Nol. Ep. c. 18, Ib. p. 17.
[8] Lib. Aux. de Sacr. Ordin. c. 40, p. 10: Dial. cc. 30, 31, p. 21.
[9] De Scriptt. Eccl. c. 112.
[1] A. 908, pp. 667, 668.

"[2] We, answering your consultation by the common advice of our brethren, distinguish (although a certain predecessor of ours seems to have thought otherwise), whether of two unbelievers one be converted to the Catholic Faith, or whether of two believers, one lapse into heresy, or fall into the error of heathendom."

Innocent III. holds that marriage between Christians, though one subsequently lapse into heresy, or apostatize altogether, is indissoluble, and so that Celestine was wrong. Bellarmine, who had not seen the Decretal, excuses Celestine on the ground of Innocent's word "seems," as though he had not spoken positively[3]; Alphonsus de Castro, who had seen it, held that Celestine could in no way be excused from heresy[4]; Celestine's words, which formerly were in the Decretals[5], though removed for their error, are positive.

"[6] A Christian man, for hatred of his wife, denied Christ, and united to him a heathen woman, and had a son by her; the Christian woman was deserted to the reproach of Jesus Christ; yet with the counsel of her Archdeacon, she betook herself to a second marriage, and had children therefrom; it doth not seem to us, that if the former husband return to ecclesiastical unity, she ought to depart from the second and

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[2] Decr. Greg. IX. Lib. iv. Tit. xix. c. 7.

[3] De Rom. Pont. iv. 14, col. 1034.

[4] De Hæres. i. 4, quoted by Bellarmine, l. c.

[5] "It was formerly in ancient Decretals, cap. *laudabilem*, which decree Alphonsus [de Castro] says that he had seen." Bell. l. c.

[6] Anton. Augustin. Collect. Decr. coll. ii., quoted by Bossuet, Def. &c. ix. 40.

be given back to the first, especially since she seemed to have departed from him by judgment of the Church."

"Nic. Dubois blames Adrian VI. because, on account of this Decretal, he judged Celestine III. to be a heretic. 'For,' he says, '[7] it was not a matter as yet defined by the Church, nor was there as yet a contrary consent of the whole Church, which should have the force of a definition.' '[8] Celestine only answered by the words, *it doth not seem to us;* he then defined nothing.' What is that to us? For who contends that Celestine was a heretic, who wrote this without any contumacy? We only maintain with Adrian VI., that a Roman Pontiff, being duly interrogated on a question pertaining to the Faith, answered what in fact is most certainly heretical; and that that Pontiff was wanting to the office of 'confirming the brethren,' by whose sentence the husband was deprived of his lawful wife, the woman remained united with an adulterer, and that most evil judgment of the Archdeacon was confirmed."

8. Another wrong decision in a marriage case, related to the question, whether the words said by both in the present, each party saying, "I take thee as mine," and "I take thee as mine" constituted a marriage. Alexander was asked—

"Whether if lawful consent in the present have intervened between man and woman, with or without an oath, but without the act of marriage, the woman may marry another? or, if she do marry another, and the act of marriage have followed, whether she ought to be separated from him?"

He answered,—

"[9] We answer thy consultation in this wise, that if between man and woman, a lawful consent, with the wonted solemnity,

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[7] Refut. Arg. art. xiv. n. 146, 147.

[8] Disq. art. viii. n. 107, p. 38. Refut. arg., &c., p. 78.

[9] Decret. Greg. IX. Lib. iv. Tit. iv. c. 3.

viz. in the presence of the priest or even a notary (as is still observed in some places), before qualified witnesses, take place in the present; so that each, with the accustomed words, expressly receive the other in their mutual consent, each saying, 'I take thee as mine' and 'I take thee as mine,' whether an oath be interposed or no, the woman may not marry another. And if she so marry, although the act of marriage follow, she ought to be separated from him and by ecclesiastical discipline be compelled to return to the first, although some think otherwise, and some also of our predecessors have at some time judged otherwise."

"[1] They then, being consulted, judged contrary to that which was afterwards judged by Alexander III. and the whole Church. Nor does Nic. Dubois help them; pleading, as is manifest, this excuse for the error: '[2] It was formerly doubtful in the Church, whether marriage, confirmed by consent only, be dissolved by a subsequent marriage with another, and consummated. Hence divers Bishops and Archbishops, Salerno, Padua, Sienna, Norvicensis[3], Genoa, &c., consulted the Holy See.' Rightly and in order. For then especially are the supreme Pontiffs to be consulted, when the case is arduous and doubtful. What happens? They, being consulted by so many Bishops, answered very ill. But it is plain that they were even specially wanting to the Apostolic office, when so many Churches required the aid of the Apostolic office."

9. "[4] Innocent III., consulted by the whole Cistercian order, whether a sacrilegious" [i. e. partially untrue] "confession of a monk ought to be revealed by his Confessor, calling in the Cardinals, answers thus:—

[1] Boss. Def. &c., ix. 40. [2] Disq. art. i. n. 11, p. 161.

[3] So in Bossuet. I can learn of no see of that name save Norwich, which seems improbable in the midst of Italian prelates.

[4] Boss. Def. &c., ix. 40.

"'[5] I say that, in such a case the confession ought to be published (*prodendam*), because it is blasphemy rather than confession; nor ought the Confessor to conceal so great blasphemy and insanity, whereby peril might lie upon the whole Church.'

"All approved of this sentence of Innocent, and he wrote the following year to a General Chapter what he had determined.

"'[6] Here is a grave question from which peril seemed to lie *upon the whole Church* referred, according to the canons, to the Roman Pontiff; here is a mature and canonical deliberation, deferred for a whole year; then the whole Cistercian order, diffused through the whole Church, receive a response and determination, which Theologians and Canonists confess with one mouth to be repugnant to law, Divine and natural. Such things fall from the most learned and best-advised Pontiffs, duly consulted, duly deliberating, as a witness of human infirmity; and I would venture to say (I trust without offence) also to put down the presumption of infallibility."

9. The opposed Bulls on the Franciscan poverty would have had little interest but for the mention of our Lord. Nicholas III. laid down that—

"'[7] The abdication of property, of the individual or the community, is meritorious and holy; that Christ taught this in word and confirmed it by example, as also the first founders of the Church; that Christ, in that He is said at times to have had a purse, acted so, taking on Himself the person of the weak, with the same condescension wherewith He sometimes

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[5] Cæs. Monach. Cist. Hist. mem. L. iii. c. 32. Vid. Bibl. Script. Cisterc. c. 1.

[6] Boss. ix. 40.

[7] Sext. Decret. L. v. tit. xii. de Verb. signif. c. iii. *Exiit qui seminat.*

acted weak things (infirma ageret) as appears at times in flight and in the matter of a purse.

"[8] He distinguished, accordingly, 'in temporal things property, possession, usufruct, right of using, and simple use in fact;' which 'simple use in fact,' as distinct even from the 'right of using,' he alone left the brothers, as 'befitting that profession, which vowed freely to follow Christ, Who was poor, in such exceeding poverty.'

"So then he teaches, that Christ also followed that kind of poverty and abdication, and distinctly declares, that by 'simple use,' he meant use which was only 'the fact of using, giving no right to the users.'

"And under this 'simple use,' he expressly included *those things necessary for support*, or which were for *the necessities of the sick, or for clothing other brethren*, that in these the brethren should be reduced to 'the simple use in fact,' without reserving any 'right' to themselves.

"But since those who gave things to the brethren seemed to be so minded as really to part with what they gave, and desired, for the sake of God, to transfer them to others, lest the dominion over such things as were given to the brethren to be used should seem to be uncertain, he, after the example of Innocent IV., transfers it to himself and the Roman Church, leaving the entire use to the brethren, granting them also the power of selling and exchanging books and other movables, as should suit the uses of the brethren."

It seems strange, that this necessity of vesting the right of property, which, on the theory, the Franciscans were not to have, somewhere in a higher authority, did not open their eyes to see that the poverty which they claimed could not be the poverty of our Lord.

"He concludes, '[9] Since from the things aforesaid and many

[8] Boss. Def. &c., ix. 41, p. 131.

[9] Sext. Decr. l. c. § *Cum igitur.*

others, being maturely discussed, the rule itself appears evidently lawful, holy, perfect, and open to no peril, this constitution should, like the rest, be of perpetual firmness; be read in the schools; faithfully expounded; without any glosses except the grammatical exposition of terms, under pain of excommunication, to which also any should be subject who should determine or preach against it.' This Decretal was elucidated by Clement V., '[10] in a Decretal approved at a secret consistory, May 5, 1312, and read on the following day in the third session of the Council of Vienne.' John XXII., who, to check the extravagancies of the Fraticelli[1], left regulations as to dress, and the having barns or wine-cellars, to be settled by Superiors[2], was assailed, as 'acting by that Decretal against Evangelic poverty, and consequently against the Gospel of Christ; and so, as having become a heretic, and having, if he persevered in it, destroyed the Papal power[3].'"

Omitting what Bossuet says, that, in the Bull *Ad conditorem canonum*[4], John, while excusing Nicolas, ridiculed what he had said about the simple use of things, "without any right to use them," the graver question was, that—

"[5]The Franciscans alleged that Nicolas III. approved that example of deepest poverty, as they thought, by 'the simple use in deed' [as shown] in Christ and His Apostles."

"John XXII. altogether overthrew this by the publication of the Extravag. *Cum inter nonnullos*, in the ninth year of his Pontificate, A.D. 1325, in which he examines two propositions: (1) that Christ and His Apostles had not any thing individually or in common: (2) that in those things which Scripture

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[10] Note of Paris Ed.

[1] Clem. L. v. tit. xi. de verb. sign. c. 1. *Exivi de Paradiso.*

[2] Extrav. tit. xiv., de verb. sign. c. 1. *Quorumdam.*

[3] Rainald, T. xv. A. 1318, n. 53.

[4] Extrav. l. c. c. iii.

[5] Boss. Def., &c., ix. 44.

attests that they had, they had no 'right of using them.' These propositions, being duly examined, he judged to be erroneous and heretical; but the last especially hostile to Catholic doctrine, in that it ascribes to the Redeemer an unjust use of things and unjust acts; viz. using things without the right of using them."

"The Franciscans took this very ill. They object to John XXII. the decretal of Nicolas; they accuse him as openly heretical, because 'the things which have once been defined by the supreme Pontiff, through the key of knowledge in faith and manners, their successors may not question.' To still these commotions, John XXII. published another Extravag., *Quia quorumdam*[6], in which he excuses Nicolas as he can, and denies that either he or any of his predecessors had defined what the 'brothers' asserted so zealously as to 'the simple use in deed;' and that even if they had, 'those constitutions would be invalid, erroneous, and infirm.'

"John, indeed, to excuse Nicolas, wrote, 'It does not appear that he said that the sustentation of Christ and His Apostles consisted in the sole and bare simple use in deed.' But this is nought; for, even if it were true that Nicolas conceded to Christ and the Apostles not only 'the simple use in deed,' but also at times 'the right itself of using' things, yet he asserted that their 'simple use' was not only just but perfect too, and that it foreshone in Christ, and from His example was propagated to the brethren. Whereas John both defined universally that such 'use' was unjust, and judged that to admit it in Christ was heretical.

"Which judgment he confirmed most fully in the Decretal *Quia quorumdam*[7]. For there he taught that that appropriation, which they made to consist in 'the simple use in deed,' without right thereto, 'was neither observed by Christ nor imposed upon the Apostles, nor received by them under vow; and that to attribute these things to Christ, seeing that they were in themselves not just, was a heretical, condemned, blasphemous, pestiferous doctrine.' So then it is very clear that

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[6] Ib. Extrav. c. 5.

[7] Extr. § Rursus 2°.

Nicolas, when he published the Decretal, praised as perfect and prescribed to the brethren, what John XXII. pronounced unjust; and that he said of Christ, what John declared not only to be novel and unheard-of in the Scriptures, but also blasphemous and heretical.

"Further, Michael Cæsenas, General of the Franciscans, and his associates, formally, publicly, and solemnly appealed from John's three decretals to the holy Roman Church, and a general Council of the universal Church. This both the Acts attest[8] and Rainald confesses[9]; nor do the opponents deny that these two decretals, *Cum inter nonnullos*, and *Quia quorumdam*, whereby two propositions are declared heretical, appertain beyond question to the definition of faith.

"In regard to the definition of John, as to 'the simple use in deed,' published in the Decretal *Ad conditorem*, Rainald maintains, Bellarmine attacks it[1], and decides that John *erred in a controversy not pertaining to faith;* whereas John, in the Decretal *Quia quorumdam*, commands that whoever speaks against what is defined in the Decretal *Ad conditorem*, should be accounted by all as contumacious and a rebel against the Roman Church.

"John too judged that assertion of 'a simple use [of things] in deed, without right,' by Christ, was blasphemous, heretical, impious, on no other ground than that that use was not just, wherein Bellarmine asserts that he erred and overthrows two Decretals of John in matters of faith.

"Nor would I admit that John was 'occupied about a vain metaphysical thing.' For it was of moment to the Church, that that 'idea of a false and empty perfection, which Nicolas had cherished,' should disappear from the minds of the brethren, seeing they were not ashamed, following Nicolas, to ascribe it to Christ; and, demented by it, were so self-satisfied, and

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[8] Mich. Cæs. Tract. cont. error. Joann. XXII., Goldast. Monarch. ii. 1236.

[9] Ib. l. c. A. 1331, n. 11. sqq.

[1] Rain. A. 1324, n. 32. Bell. De Rom. Pont. v. 14.

burst out not only into horrible misdeeds but into heresies and schisms also.

"But as to that, that they would not have the constitution *Exiit* accounted as a decree of faith, because the Pope did *not express this*, nor *proposed what he pronounced to be believed of necessity*, although he forebade *to determine and preach* against it, under pain of excommunication, we leave to the reader to judge what force it has. Meanwhile, our understanding is, that Nicolas, who, by a definition which he published, led minds to that which John XXII. declared to be unjust or heretical, was very far from the office of confirming the faith.

"But as to the two decretals of John, *Cum inter nonnullos* and *Quia quorumdam*, they have nothing to say, since they see these decretals, though provided with every thing wherein they now will that a decree of faith consists, accounted by the gloss inserted in the 'Corpus Juris' as reversible, and overthrown by Bellarmine himself."

10. Lastly, is the case of John XXII., who publicly preached at Rome what was pronounced to be heresy. Bossuet gives the history concisely.

"[2] Under the same Pontiff, John XXII., in his sixteenth year, A. 1331, as Rainaldus relates, '[3] began to be agitated in the Pontifical Curia the question as to the vision of souls, controverted among the Theologians of that time.' It was held as certain, that 'cleansed souls were at once received into heaven,' and John himself had defined this in an instruction given to Osinius, King of Armenia, as the same Rainaldus states[4]. The doubt was, whether, when admitted into heaven, they enjoyed the vision of God face to face: John denied this, and as Rainaldus says[5], 'began to collect on all sides with the utmost solicitude arguments for the negative, and to put together testimonies of the Fathers, and as a private Doctor

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[2] Bossuet, Ib. c. 46.
[3] T. xv. A. 1331, n. 45.
[4] Ib. x. A. 1318, n. 10.
[5] Ib. A. 1331, n. 44.

[Rainaldus thinks] to repeat these things in his sermons, that Bishops and Doctors might discuss those arguments more diligently. So, indeed, did John afterwards defend himself; so did they try to excuse him, who feared peril to faith from his authority and from sermons publicly preached to the people. But if he only wished these things to be discussed by Doctors, to what purpose, that it should be preached to the people?'"

The excuse is, moreover, as the Paris editors observe, inconsistent with the fact, that "John adhered so pertinaciously to his error, that the Cardinals at Avignon preached it, either to please the Pope or not to displease him; and when Thomas Walleis, an English Dominican, preached against it, the Pontiff was so angry that he had him thrust into prison[6]."

"It is quite certain," continues Bossuet, "(as was spread abroad and believed in the whole Church, and especially in France,) that that error was publicly put forth [prædicatum] by John.

"Our French were much moved, especially when Gerald Otho, General of the Franciscans, a near friend of the Pope, and sent as his Nuncio to France, took upon him to set forth that error in a sermon at Paris[7]; and it was commonly reported, that, though under another colour, he was really sent for this purpose by John, and that the Pontiff was the author and standard-bearer of that error."

"But Philip VI. of Valois, King of France, threatened to proceed to extremities against those who denied to the blessed souls the clear vision [of God]; to whom the Pontiff wrote a letter, which Rainald adduces[8].

"In this letter he writes, that the question seemed doubtful even to Augustine; that Doctors varied; that he had indeed made mention thereof in sermons; that the question had been discussed at his command, that so the truth might be more fully discovered.

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[6] See Nang., p. 758. Hist. Univ. T. iv. 235. Fleury, L. xciv.

[7] Rain. T. xv. A. 1333, n. 44. 1334, n. 30.

[8] Ib. A. 1333, n. 45.

"He subjoins; '[9] And since, most beloved son, it is perhaps said to you, that I am no Magister in Theology, hear what a wise man says, "Consider not *who* says it, but *what he* says."' So then let us think that he (John XXII.) understood that that saying, 'not *who* said it, but *what he said*' appertained to himself also. He continued, 'Would, my son, that your Royal Eminence would hear what I have said in my discourses (as I remember I have written before), and, as I said before, you will find that I have not uttered a single word out of my own head, but what either Christ or the Apostles, or the holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church have uttered.'. So doubtingly did he instil into the royal ears the doctrine which he followed.

"Then he dissuaded the king from persecuting those who denied to souls the clear vision [of God], for that this did not appertain to the king's honour; and exhorted him to permit each opinion to be freely disputed and preached until it should be declared otherwise by the Apostolic See. This he wrote on November 18, the seventeenth year of his Pontificate, A.D. 1333.

"Philip, nothing moved thereby, not many days after he had received the epistle, on the fourth Sunday in Advent, convened the Masters of Paris, and bade them give their judgment on the question. They all unanimously agreed, that the clear vision was not to be denied to the blessed souls. Which judgment of the Faculty we have entire, written at the command of the aforesaid prince, with the seal of the Masters attached.

"The king declared that he did not seek what might touch the Pope, whom he held in all honour, but the Doctors premised that they had heard, 'that whatever his Holiness said in this matter, he had expressed, not asserting or opining, but only reciting:' so much did they shrink from offending the mind of the Pontiff.

"The king (according to the continuator of Nangis, an historian of that period), sent a copy of this judgment to the Pope, '[1] with the injunction that he should approve the decision

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[9] Ib. n. 46. [1] Vid. Contin. Nang. ap. Duch. T. v.

of the Masters of Paris, who knew better what was to be held and believed as to faith than the clerical jurists [of Rome], who knew little or nothing of theology, and that he should correct those who hold the contrary.'

"A bold deed, you will say, that Frenchmen should teach the faith to the Roman Pontiff. Such was the confidence in acknowledged truth, and John seems to have yielded to this. Certainly in the following year, the last of his Pontificate, A.D. 1334, he willed to publish that his profession, whereby he confessed *with the Catholic Church*, 'that purified souls see the Divine Essence face to face.' And so he was, by the consent of the Catholic Church, brought to the true and certain faith of truth, to hesitate and fluctuate no more.

"But that Benedict XII. asserted that faith, and judged those who resisted it to be heretics[2], he did nothing else than declare the public and stable consent of the Catholic faith herein, which the Parisians, and John XXII., when dying, had acknowledged. Nor can I admit that answer of Rainaldus and others, that what this same John preached against that faith publicly in the Church, he preached as a private Doctor. For preaching in that most eminent citadel of the Roman Church appertains to the Apostolic office: and the true faith ought not merely to be defined in the Roman Church under anathema, but also should be so taught and preached, that it should thence be proclaimed throughout the world[3]; to which duty John XXII. was lacking."

The cases in which Roman Pontiffs unguardedly excused what was heretical or discouraged what was of faith, are different from these, because no one holds the Pope to be infallible as to matters of fact. And yet very grave inconveniences would

[2] Rain. A. 1336, n. 2, 3. Vid. Bull. Rom. T. 1. Bull. Bened. XII. *Benedictus.* § 3, 4, 5, p. 241.

[3] Rom. i. 8.

have followed, had Zosimus's acquittal of the heretic Cælestius, or Hormisdas's rash censure of the Scythian monks, who were maintaining against heretics a dogmatic statement subsequently recognized to be sound, or Vigilius's pronouncement in the Constitutum, whereby he excused the Epistle of Ibas, which the Vth General Council condemned, been received without opposition, as would probably have been the case, had the Pope been considered an infallible authority. For it is only in controversy that fine distinctions are made. Practically, an authority which was held to be infallible as to any enunciation as to the faith, would be counted infallible when pronouncing authoritatively as to the rightness of the faith of others.

1. Yet, however mildly S. Augustine excuses Pope Zosimus, his was a very hasty judgment in a matter touching the very centre of the faith. Zosimus had been imposed upon. Perhaps, as a Greek, he was less versed in a Western heresy. Cælestius had gained his ear, had prejudiced him by false statements about men zealous for the faith, Heros and Lazarus, and about the African Council, as though they had listened to one-sided accusations in his absence, whereas he had, when seeking to steal[4] into the Presbyterate at Carthage, been cited and condemned by the sentence of the Bishops[5]

[4] S. Aug. Ep. 157 ad Hilar., c. 3, n. 22.

[5] Ib. et de gestis Pelag. c. 35.

five years before[6]. "He appealed from that sentence to the examination of the Bishop of Rome[7], presented a confession of faith, full on all points of faith as to which no one had asked him, represented his own heresy as relating to—

"Questions beside the faith, on which contention had arisen among many,"

stated that—

"[8] On them I have not, as the author of any dogma, laid down any thing as of defined authority, but what I have received from the fountain of the Apostles and Prophets. I offer to be proved by your Apostolic judgment, that, if any error of ignorance has crept over me, as man, it may be corrected by your judgment."

In this confession, he had denied the transmission of sin.

"[9] We have said that infants are to be baptized for the remission of sins, not as meaning to establish sin by transmission, which is very alien from the Catholic mind. For sin is not born with man, which is afterwards practised by man; because delinquency is shown to be, not of nature, but of will."

This memorial of Cælestius, Pope Zosimus says,—

"[1] We caused to be recited, and not content therewith, we repeatedly inquired, whether what he had written he spake with the heart or with the lips."

This he transmitted to the African Bishops. "What his words contain, we thought that your

[6] Ep. 175 ad Innocent. [7] Mercator, Common. init.
[8] In S. Aug. De Pecc. orig. c. 23. [9] Ib. c. 6.
[1] Zosim. Papæ Aurelio, &c. App. Opp. S. Aug. x. 98.

holinesses might know more compendiously by reading." Then, having repeated the calumnies of Cælestius, he infers,—

"It is a very urgent matter that the cause proceeded from such persons by letters accusing him being absent, who, when present, defends himself, *who explains his faith*, who challenges the accuser."

Then, having instanced the judgments of David and Solomon, he says,—

"It is a token of an excellent mind, to believe evil with difficulty; for many, whose *good confession of themselves* is slowly believed, are forced into the precipice of that error, and the wound whose healing is despaired of, is rendered incurable. Whence in the present cause we have judged nothing unripely, but have made our examination as *to the complete faith* of Cælestius known to your holinesses, to whom his former memorial, published by him within Africa, ought to have served as a testimony, that you should not so readily believe persons unexamined and speaking idly on report. Wherefore within two months either let those come who may convict him, when present, of thinking otherwise, or let your holinesses know, that *after these open and clear statements which he has made*, no doubt remains. Cælestius himself and all the priests who at that time were present from different countries I admonished, that these *ensnaring questions and foolish controversies*, which do not edify, but rather destroy, flow from that contagion of curiosity, each abusing his own ingenuity, or intemperate eloquence or writing, since herein the writings even of great men are sometimes, after a long period, imperilled by the contrariness of an interpreter."

He concludes,—

"I admonish you, beloved, both by the authority of the Apostolic See and with the mutual affection of love, that your minds subject themselves to the precepts and observations of

all Scriptures, which are prescribed according to the tradition of the Fathers."

S. Augustine, construing every thing in the best sense, says,—

"[2] Whereas Cælestius had put this ('that man is born without any fault of original sin') among those things, as to which he confessed that he was in doubt and was willing to be instructed, the will to be amended, not the falsehood of the dogma was approved in a man of sharpest intellect, whose amendment would have been profitable to many. And his memorial was therefore called Catholic, because this too belongs to the Catholic mind, that if he be in any thing otherwise minded than truth requires, he should not define them as most certain, but, when laid open and demonstrated, should reject them."

The excuse, however, goes beyond the words of Pope Zosimus, who dwells not simply on Cælestius's expression of his willingness to be amended, but on his explanation itself as being sound. He inquired of Cælestius whether he in his heart believed what he had written, as though that belief, if sincere, were sound; he sends what Cælestius had written to the African Bishops, to satisfy them; he contrasts—not the willingness to be corrected, but the explanation of his faith with what he regards as the calumnies of Heros and Lazarus; he speaks of it "as a good confession of himself," as "fides absoluta;" he wishes the African Bishops to "retract their judg-

[2] Con. 2 Epp. Pelag. ii. 3.

ment for the better[3];" he says that Cælestius's own confession ought to have saved them from hastily believing his accusers; he says that his accusers would have to prove within two months that Cælestius thought otherwise than he had *put down in his memorials and his confession*, which contained plain heresy; else "after his plain and open statements" (which were indeed undisguised heresy) "no doubt remained." Lastly, the admonition to Cælestius and others present about these "ensnaring questions and foolish controversies" shows that he had not the slightest perception of the gravity of the question, in that Cælestius had directly denied the transmission of original sin. Zosimus himself held the faith[4], but acquitted one who in plain terms denied it. It is not surprising that Zosimus should have accepted the acquittal of Pelagius in the Council of Jerusalem, which he obtained in fact by anathematizing his own belief[5]. In this too, however, he laid stress on Pelagius's own letter[6], in which (as S. Augustine notices) he discusses at large what no one asked him about, from the Unity of the Trinity to the Resurrection of the Flesh, and glossed over his own heresy;—

[3] "Nunquam piguit in melius retorsisse judicium."

[4] Aug. Ep. 190 ad Opt. c. 6, n. 23.

[5] See S. Aug. De Gestis Pelagii.

[6] Zosim. ad Afric. Ep. de Causa Pelagii in App. ad S. Aug. T. x. col. 99. Libellus fidei Pelagii ad Innocentium ab ipso missus, Zosimo redditus. Ib. col. 90.

"[7] We hold one baptism, which we say ought to be celebrated with the same sacramental words for *infants* as for elders." "As if," says S. Augustine[8], "remission of sins were only pronounced to infants in words, not worked in effect."

Of adults also Pelagius simply said,—

"We so confess free-will, as to say that we ever need the help of God,"—

meaning by that help, not grace or the operation of God the Holy Ghost, but man's natural powers, sustained in him by God. It is not strange that, as a Greek, Zosimus should be imposed upon, or have spoken of Pelagius's letter as—

"Containing most abundantly his clearance, wherein he accumulated *without any colouring*, the profession of his faith, what he followed, what he condemned, so that the snares of the whole interpretation should cease."

He concludes his letter,—

"We have sent you, beloved, copies of the writings which Pelagius sent, the reading whereof, we doubt not, will produce in you joy in the Lord for his complete faith."

An African Council of 214 Bishops showed him that Pelagius and Cælestius, whom he had acquitted, had been condemned by Innocent, his predecessor, and they urged,—

"[9] That it sufficed not for slower or more anxious minds, that Cælestius should confess generally that he agreed with

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[7] S. Aug. De Gratia Christi. c. 32.

[8] De Pecc. orig. c. 21, n. 24.

[9] C. 2. Epp. Pelag. ii. 3, col. 434.

the letters of Pope Innocent of blessed memory, but that he ought openly to anathematize the perverted things which he had put in his memorial, lest, if he did not this, many of the less intelligent should believe that those poisons of faith in his book were rather approved by the Apostolic See, because it had said that 'That memorial was Catholic,' than that they were amended, because he had answered that he agreed with the letters of Pope Innocent."

The result was,—

"[1] When his presence was required, that by clear and certain responses, either the cunning of the man or his amendment might come to light, and might not remain ambiguous to any one, he withdrew and refused the examination."

The mistake of Zosimus appears to have been over-confidence in his own judgment as to a heresy with which he was unfamiliar, and a hasty judgment of the African Bishops, "in which province," S. Augustine says, "the cunning of Cælestius had become more known."

"They will find," says Facundus[2], "the heresiarch Pelagius, from whom the Pelagians are named, when in the judicial synod of the Bishops of Palestine he hid what he held against the grace of Christ, and cunningly explained his perverse sentiments, absolved through the same ignorance. They will find lastly the blessed Zosimus, too, prelate of the Apostolic See, against the judgment of Innocent, his predecessor, who first condemned the Pelagian heresy, praising, as true and Catholic, the faith of Pelagius himself, and of his accomplice Cælestius, whom, having been convicted in the Church of Carthage, and appealing to the Apostolic See, he himself had examined in a

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[1] l. c.

[2] Pro defens. trium Cap. vii. 3, p. 272. B. P. x. 55.

judicial hearing[3]; blaming moreover the African Bishops, because they believed them (Pel. & Cæl.) to be heretics, when, the African Bishops not having as yet much more clearly detected their wiles, he thought the aforesaid Pelagius and Cælestius to be orthodox. And yet neither doth the Church hold these Bishops of Palestine and Zosimus to be heretics, because they thought well of heretics; but rather, for the merit of their faith, it judges and honours them as Catholics, since the un-understood cunning of the malignant ought not to be imputed as a crime to the simple."

Yet this acquittal could not but be a temporary evil. It enabled the Pelagians also to impute the change to a dread of the civil power:—

"'They accuse the Roman Clergy, writing that, 'They, stricken by terror of the [Imperial] mandate, were not ashamed to commit the sin of prevaricating, so that, contrary to their former judgment whereby they had, upon a judicial hearing, sided with the Catholic [Pelagian] dogma, they afterwards pronounced that the nature of man was evil."

Bossuet notices that S. Augustine treats the idea of a formal assent to the Pelagian heresy on the part of the Roman See, not, as those of his day would, who held the Papal infallibility, as a thing impossible, but as much to be deprecated[5].

"Had such a judgment been then passed in the Roman Church as to Cælestius and Pelagius, that their dogmas, which Pope Innocent had condemned in them and with them, had (God forbid!) been pronounced to be approved and held, thereby might the Roman Clergy have been much rather branded with prevarication[6]."

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[3] In gestis.
[4] S. Aug. l. c.
[5] Def. &c., ix. 35, p. 113.
[6] S. Aug. l. c.

2. No blame attaches to Vigilius, that he wished "the three chapters" not to be condemned. Evil to the faith was dreaded both from their condemnation and acquittal. Their condemnation was desired by Justinian to disparage the Council of Chalcedon, which "had received Ibas and Theodoret, and had not blamed Theodorus when mention was made of him." The Orthodox Easterns desired their condemnation to repress the Nestorians; the Westerns feared that, lest the Eutychians should gain by the slur on the Council which condemned them. Evil as had been the course whereby Vigilius had attained to the Papacy, he was upright after he attained it. Bossuet gives the account briefly:—

"[7] Vigilius, even when invited, was unwilling to attend the Synod; none the less it was held without him. He published the 'Constitutum,' wherein he disapproved of those things which Theodorus, Theodoret, and Ibas were said to have written against the faith; decreed that their names were to be spared, because they themselves were either received by the IVth General Council, or had died in the communion of the Church, and been reserved to the judgment of God[8]; of the Epistle of Ibas he declared that, understood in its rightest and best sense, it remained unblamable[9], and of the three chapters he enjoined, that *after the present definition*, Ecclesiastics should raise *no further question about them*[10]."

"These things Vigilius decreed of his authority. But after his Constitutum the Synod entered into the question of the three

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[7] Def. &c., vii. 20.

[8] Conc. v. Collat. 1 and 2, Conc. T. v. 419, sq. Constit. Vigil. Ib. 337, sq.

[9] Ib. 372.

[10] Ib. 376.

chapters, judged that a question might rightly be considered as to the dead; that the Epistle of Ibas was manifestly heretical and Nestorian, and throughout contrary to the faith of Chalcedon; and that whosoever defended the impious Theodore of Mopsuestia, or the writings of Theodoret against Cyril, or the *impious* Epistle of Ibas, which maintained the Nestorian doctrines, and did not anathematize it, but pronounced it correct, were altogether anathema[1].

"Hereby they seemed not to spare even Vigilius, though suppressing his name; their decree was undoubtedly confirmed by Pelagius II., Gregory the Great, and other Roman Pontiffs[2].

"These things show that in a matter of greatest moment appertaining to a cause of faith, the decrees of Councils prevailed over the decrees of Pontiffs, and that the Epistle of Ibas, defended by the judgment of the Roman Pontiff, was not the less proscribed as heretical."

3. The gravity of the wrong judgment of Hormisdas was increased by the critical circumstances under which it was given. Bossuet again condenses the history:—

"[3]In the year 519, when S. Hormisdas was sovereign Pontiff, a great question arose, which must be diligently considered, since on both sides arguments are taken therefrom.

"The question was as to this proposition: 'One of the Trinity was crucified,' 'Unus Trinitatis,' or 'Unus ex Trinitate crucifixus est.' S. Proclus of Constantinople, soon after

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[1] Ib., Collat. v., p. 479, sq. See also Coll. vi., col. 545, sq. Coll. viii. can. 12, 13, 14, col. 575, sq.

[2] And even Vigilius himself, if that be a genuine Epistle which P. de Marca published from a MS. of the Royal Library. Vid. Ep. Vigil. attrib. Ib., 595, and diss. P. de Marca de hac Ep. col. 601, sq.

[3] Bossuet, Def., &c., ix. 16—18.

the Council of Ephesus, had, in an Epistle to the Armenians[4], opposed this to the new Nestorians, when, Nestorius having been excommunicated, they screened themselves under the name of the older Theodore of Mopsuestia. These then, praisers of Theodore in public, defenders of Nestorius in secret, divided the One Son into two; separated the Son of Mary from the Son of God; introduced a quaternity for the Trinity. These, S. Proclus thought, might best be refuted, if they were to own that the Son of Mary was, not external to the Trinity, but 'One of the Trinity.'

"The Epistle of Proclus having been approved by an Eastern Synod, and praised by the Council of Chalcedon itself[5], was held in high esteem throughout the whole West also, after Dionysius Exiguus had translated it into Latin, and commended the care of Proclus, that, asserting Christ to be 'One of the Trinity,' he most aptly confuted the frauds of the Nestorians[6].

"This proposition, then, John Maxentius and other monks of the province of Scythia asserted against the Nestorians, and charged with Nestorianism those who rejected it.

"But Dioscorus, deacon of S. Hormisdas, and legate of the Apostolic See, being at Constantinople, writes to Hormisdas, that he thought that this proposition of the Scythian monks was to be rejected as new, heretical, and mainly asserted by the Eutychians[7].

"It is indeed certain that Peter Gnapheus or Fullo, the Eutychian heretic, was on that ground censured by Felix III. and the Roman Synod, that he said 'that One of the Uncreated and Undivided Trinity suffered and died[8].' But Peter Fullo meant thereby, that One of the Trinity was said to have suffered for us in the Substance of the Deity, as Felix himself

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[4] Ep. Procli, C. P. ad Arm. B. P. vi. 615, Conc. iii. 117.

[5] Vid. Nov. Coll. Conc. Baluz., p. 94. Facundus viii. 4. Conc. Chal. P. 3, c. i., col. 827, 828.

[6] Dionys. Exig. Præf. in Ep. Procli, B. P. vi. 612.

[7] Suggest. Diosc. ad Hormisd. Conc. iv. 1531.

[8] Conc. Rom. 1 sub Fel. iii., col. 1097.

relates[0]; from which guilt the Scythian monks so shrank, that they always added (what S. Proclus too had said most accurately), 'that One of the Trinity was crucified in the Flesh[1],' lest they should seem to confound the Natures and to hold with the Eutychians. Wherein they much differed from Peter Fullo and from his followers, Anastasius Augustus and Theodora Augusta[2], whose tenets were proscribed, '*asserting* that One of the Trinity suffered, not *secundum quid*, but absolutely;' but the Scythians asserted that 'He suffered, not absolutely' (whereby the heretics meant that He suffered in the Divinity too), 'but only *secundum quid*,' i.e. according to the Flesh.

"The question being mooted, the Scythian monks went to Rome, duly to consult the Apostolic See[3]; Justinus Augustus and Justinianus, then Comes Domesticorum, write on the same matter, and Justinianus, being persuaded by Dioscorus, prays that the monks may be forthwith repelled, as unjust and turbulent persons[4]. Presently, having considered the matter itself, as it seems, more gravely, he, in a second letter, thus inquires of Hormisdas: 'Some assert that Christ, Who was crucified in the Flesh for our salvation, ought to be spoken of as One of the Trinity[5].' He asks, '[5] What ought we to follow, what avoid, hereon, since the language seems to occasion dissension? for the meaning among all Catholics is proved to be one.' He subjoins: 'For we believe *that* to be Catholic which shall be intimated to us in your religious answer.' Which profession, lest it seem to pertain to Papal infallibility, we notice that the end of the narrative is to be waited for; meanwhile we note *bonâ fide* what they object to us.

"Meanwhile, it is well to explain the mind of the Catholics hereon. First, then, the Scythian monks diligently expounded

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[0] Fel. Ep. 5, ad Zen. Ib. 1071.

[1] Pet. Diac., lib. ad Fulg. int. Op. Fulg., p. 280. Paris, 1684.

[2] Vid. Joann. Max. Prof. Fid. B. P. ix. 534, sqq.

[3] Vict. Turon. Chron.

[4] Ep. i. Justiniani ad Hormisd. Conc. iv. 1516.

[5] Ejusd. Ep. ii. ad Hormisd. col. 1517.

their faith[6] to St. Fulgentius and his colleagues, holy Confessors of Christ[7], and to Ferrandus, and approved it to them, the holiest and most learned men of their time. This only you may observe in Fulgentius—that he prefers to say 'One Person of the Trinity,' rather than 'One of the Trinity' ('Unus Trinitatis,' or 'Unus ex Trinitate[8]'). Which difference is so slight, that those who differ only in this, you may rightly pronounce to be of one mind and altogether agreed. So that those monks, having duly inquired of these great Bishops, met not with blame of any sort, but with testimonies of brotherly love. And in truth the expression, 'One of the Trinity,' said indefinitely, what else is it than 'One Person of the Trinity,' as John Maxentius and Ferrandus the Deacon, and afterwards Facundus, an African Bishop, an eminent writer of that age, most fully declared[9]?"

"Ferrandus the Deacon indeed mentions three wrong meanings[1] in which the expression 'One of the Trinity' might be used; but those senses the monks most plainly rejected. Wherefore Ferrandus the Deacon ascribed it to the offence taken by some, that the expression, 'One Person of the Trinity' should be used rather than 'One of the Trinity,' whereas either term indifferently might be used aptly and harmlessly. But since the Nestorians abused the word 'Person,' and said that Christ, as a Legate, exhibited the Person of the Word, they, well knowing the Nestorian frauds, preferred the title 'One of the Trinity,' and preferred that phrase, in which the deceit of the Nestorians could less lie

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[6] Pet. Diac. de Incarn. int. Op. Fulg. Ep. 16, p. 217, sq.

[7] "Then in exile in Sardinia, during the persecution by the Vandals."

[8] Fulg. lib. de Incarn., &c., ad Pet. Diac. Ib. Ep. 18, c. 10, n. 18, p. 296.

[9] Maxent. Resp. ad Ep. Hormisd. B. P. ix. 542. Ferr. Ep. ad Anat. Diac. n. 14. 16, p. 506. Facund. pro defens. 3 Capitul., i. 3. Ib. T. x. p. 6.

[1] Ferr. Ib. n. 16.

concealed. So says Maxentius; so Facundus[2]; and all the writers of this age note, that the Trinity Itself so spake: '[3]Behold Adam is become like one of Us;' not as One Person of Us. 'But,' saith the same Facundus, 'no one could speak of the Trinity better than the Trinity spake of Itself.'

"John Maxentius added a passage of S. Augustine, wherein he called Christ 'One of the Three,' which, what else is it than 'One of the Trinity[4]?'

"Nor did the Scythian monks (as the Deacon Dioscorus objected) try to introduce that expression into the faith of Chalcedon; nor did they imply that that Council was defective for not having it; but they asserted (which is true) that it is lawful to employ much language not contained in Councils, to refute the frauds of heretics, especially language which seems to be approved by the use of the fathers.

"The monks, moreover, every where exalted the Council of Chalcedon and the Epistle of S. Leo; they condemned, not Eutyches only, but Dioscorus of Alexandria and his followers. They attested in every page that Christ subsisted, not *of two natures*, as the Eutychians said, but *in two natures*, and that 'One of the Trinity' suffered, 'but in the flesh only,' not in the Divinity[5].

"This question, then, being agitated among Ecclesiastics with great contention of minds, Ferrandus the Deacon, being asked by Severus Scholasticus of Constantinople what he thought, bade him ask, not him, but those to whom the honour of the priesthood gives authority to teach. 'Ask,' he says, 'principally, the Prelate of the Apostolic See, whose sound doctrine is ascertained by the judgment of truth, and is supported by the fence of authority. Ask many Pontiffs in different parts of the earth, whose God-inspired knowledge of the heavenly precepts hath obtained for them an excellent report

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[2] Max. et Fac. l. c. [3] Gen. iii. 22. Fac. l. c.

[4] Maxent. Prof. Fid. B. P. ix. 535. Aug. Enchir., c. 38, n. 12. T. vi. 211.

[5] Max. Ep. ad Germ. Joann. &c., l. c. p. 534, col. 2.

and veneration[6].' He suggests that inquiry be made of all, but *principally* of the Roman Pontiff. But after having treated the whole question most diligently, he explains in these words where he had firmest footing:—'We must, I think, cease from contentions, and I would rather advise to wait, enduring the doubt patiently, until, by authority of the universal Church, it be pronounced that the language should be adopted or rejected[7].' See, in doubtful matters, and when minds were in suspense amid 'vehement contentions,' where they were wont to take refuge, whence they looked for a most certain and indisputable sentence! How the question was closed afterwards, I will relate briefly.

"After the cause had been in suspense for fourteen months, and the monks had lingered for above a whole year at Rome, Hormisdas published a letter to Possessor, an African Bishop, who, being then at Constantinople, consulted the Apostolic See as to the books of Faustus of Rhegium[8].

"The Pontiff wished that, through this letter, it should be known at Constantinople and throughout the world what he thought of the Scythian monks. He says that they are '[9]turbulent, pertinacious, accustomed to contentions, despisers of ancient authorities, eager after new questions, restrained neither by admonition, nor by gentleness, nor by authority, who would have stirred up the common people by the dreadful seeds of diabolic tares, unless the steadfastness of the faithful people had resisted them, that they then were to be avoided.' So said Hormisdas, though without any mention of anathema or deposition; so far he tempered his judgment. Of the question itself he said nothing; but all readily believed that the proposition of the monks was proscribed; since, being harmless in other respects, they were held to be importunate and pertinacious, because they would not by any warning be induced to abandon it.

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[6] Ferr. Ep. ad Sever. B. P. ix. 509.

[7] Ib., c. xi. p. 513.

[8] Hormisd. Ep. 70, ad Possess. Conc. iv. 1530, sqq.

[9] Ib. col. 1531.

"The Epistle, however, of Hormisdas, though so great a Pontiff, did not hinder the Catholics throughout the world, and especially in the East, from inculcating this proposition against the Nestorians. Maxentius himself wrote very excitedly against that Epistle. Its author, whoever he was (for he would not acknowledge that Hormisdas was the author of an Epistle which seemed to him so impious), he called a heretic, adding, '[1] I dare to say confidently that if, not by an Epistle, but *vivâ voce* here present, this same Roman Pontiff were to prohibit the confession that Christ, the Son of God, is One of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, the Church of God would never acquiesce in him, would never venerate him as a Catholic Bishop, but would altogether execrate him as a heretic; because, whosoever does not confess this, without doubt being blinded by the darkness of the Nestorian heresy, strains to maintain that He Who endured the Cross for us is a fourth person, external to the Holy Trinity. But God forbid that the Bishop of Rome should, on any side, contradict the Catholic profession!'

"Those who would make these last words bear on Papal infallibility do not observe sufficiently what preceded, and how Maxentius judged it an abominable and execrable thing, yet not impossible, that the Roman Pontiff should err against the Faith; nay, he supposes it possible, since he expounds what would follow in such case, viz. that the universal Church would withstand him, if he asserted heresy.

"Not that I approve, that John Maxentius over-clamorously and excitedly called the Epistle of Hormisdas heretical rather than harsh, since it used strong language against the Scythian monks only, but said not a word on the question.

"But Maxentius did say truly, that the Church could not err, and that if the Roman Pontiff proscribed the true dogma, as the Scythians asserted, the Church would not assent. This the event showed. For so did the proposition of the monks prevail in the whole East, and so necessary did it seem against the new Nestorians, that Justinian was compelled to ap-

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[1] Respons. Max. ad Ep. Horm. B. P. ix. 539, sqq.

prove it by publishing an edict[2], the Bishops, and especially Epiphanius, Patriarch of Constantinople, being, as was wont, the author thereof. The edict was published A.D. 533, twelve years after the letter which Hormisdas sent to Possessor.

"The Emperor, sending an embassy to John II., asked and obtained the approbation of the edict, and wrote to the Pope, that '[3]a few unbelievers had, in a Jewish and apostate way, contradicted all the priests, denying that the Only-begotten Son of God, Who was made Man and was crucified, was One of the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity; wherein they seem to follow the evil doctrine of Nestorius.' The very statement which the Scythian monks maintained fifteen years before, from the very beginning of this contention.

"Nor does the Emperor now consult what is to be believed, as he had formerly under Hormisdas, but speaks of the matter as certain, cleared, and taught by all, which no one contradicted, save in a Jewish or apostate way.

"He concludes thus; 'We ask you then, of your fatherly love, that by your letters directed to us, you would make it plain to us, that your Holiness receives all who confess the things aforesaid, and condemns the misbelief of those who, in a Jewish way, venture to deny the right faith[4];' adding this, which is worthy of observation, 'for the love of all will grow more towards you, and the authority of your See will increase, and the existing unity of all holy Churches towards you will remain undisturbed, when all the most blessed Bishops shall learn through you the purity of your doctrine as to these things, which have been referred to you.' Whereby he signified, that that faith[5] would seem not to be pure, if the Roman Pontiff disapproved so certain a dogma; and so the Eastern Bishops wished that the pure doctrine of the Roman Bishop should be

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[2] Cod. Justin. L. vi. tit. De Sum. Trinit.

[3] Epist. Just. ad Joan. ii. Cod. ib. et Conc. iv. 1743.

[4] Ib. ibid. et Conc. iv. 1744.

[5] i. e. the faith of Hormisdas himself.

—not certainly prejudged from his infallibility, but—ascertained from his response.

"John, overcome by this, held a Council, and by letters to Justinian, and then to the [Roman] senators, confirmed the faith of Justinian, and asserted that 'One of the Trinity' had suffered, from the same passages of Scripture and the Fathers which the Scythian monks had employed[6].

"But he distinctly notes, that he approved this, according to all the fathers *and the Roman Prelates*[7], whom he followed in all things, which Justinian too had said in his Epistle to John[8]. For although they had not yet affirmed the expression 'One of the Trinity,' yet it clearly followed from their other sayings and language.

"In all this, that mode of expounding the Faith and terminating questions, which we maintain, shines forth most evidently.

"A grave question, raised moreover with the legate himself of the Apostolic See at Constantinople, was needs referred forthwith to the Apostolic See.

"Hormisdas, being asked, answers in such wise, that the truth seems to be in a manner prostrate; its defenders, who ask for a clear answer, are, for all answer, bid, 'go, weep:' while the Roman Pontiff keeps silence, hesitates, rather obstructs, the truth itself is not silent: the voice and consent of the Catholic Church conquered and burst through all hesitation: and the Roman Pontiff is not now consulted as above, in a doubtful matter, but his approbation is sought: nd obtained as to a matter certain and indubitable. Who would not see, that in this, as in every other doubtful matter, *that* availed which Ferrandus the Deacon, and every good man with him looked for—the consent of the Catholic Church?"

Hormisdas, moreover, discountenanced the language which the Eastern Church used and his

[6] Conc. Rom. sub Joann. ii. col. 1762. Ep. Joann. ad Just. Ib. col. 1745; et ad Senat. col. 1751, sqq.

[7] Ep. ad Just. l. c.

[8] Ep. Just. ad Joann. col. 1744.

successors accepted, in that he spoke of the Scythian monks as "despisers of ancient authorities, eager after new questions."

Apart from these cases, Bossuet alleges also others, in which Popes stated their own liability to error and subordination to the authority of the Universal Church.

1) "[9] Well known also is that profession which John XXII. made, when at the point of death. Having said, as to the delay of the beatific vision until the Judgment, much whereby he felt that he had come to be suspected of heresy, he, when dying, thus explains his mind thereon, and subjoins: '[1] Moreover, if in preaching, conferring, dogmatizing, teaching, or in any other way, we have said, preached, or written aught besides on the aforesaid or any other subjects, which concerns the Catholic Faith, Holy Scripture, or morals, we approve the same so far as they are consonant with the Catholic Faith, the determination of the Church, Holy Scripture, and morals; else we hold them and wish them to be held as not said, preached, or written, and we expressly revoke them; and what on the aforesaid vision, and all else which we have said, preached, or written on whatever matter, whensoever or wheresoever, or in whatever condition, whether our present or any former, we submit to the decision of the Church and of our successors.'

"What," asks Bossuet, "did he believe that he had said, preached, taught, dogmatized infallibly, who, when dying and close upon the Judgment of God, made this profession? Does he not clearly submit the sayings and writings of his Pontificate also to the determination of the Church? But to 'the

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[9] Defens. &c. ix. 27.

[1] Rainald. Ann. T. xv. A. 1334, n. 17, and Joann. xxii. Ep. 1. Conc. xi. 1629.

Church' he adds his successors, to be for their dignity specially appealed to. To this power, then, he submits every thing of his, to be examined and judged. He might at least have said that he submitted to the determination of the Church what he had written as a private Doctor; at least he might have excepted those Decretals which he wrote as to the Faith. Did he mean to except these, who expressly says, 'whatsoever,' 'in whatever way,' 'at whatever time,' 'in whatever place and position,' 'on whatever matter;' not only on the beatific vision, but (he explained as diligently as he could) on whatever other matter concerns the Catholic Faith, or Scripture, or morals? Are not then the things which he defined in Decretals among what he 'wrote, dogmatized, and declared,' since these were what he most chiefly declared? These things also, then, he submits to the determination of the Church. And this he professed, not being conscious of any error, yet wishing that, if he had erred in aught, the Church should correct it.

"But this Pontiff did not only generally submit to the determination of the Church whatever he had done, whether publicly or privately, but also specially what he had expressly thought good to expound concerning the Faith. Certainly in that confession of faith concerning the condition of souls which we now mention, he specially put forth this: '[2] This our mind, which on this subject we with the holy Catholic Church have or have had, we declare by these presents as follows:—We confess and believe that cleansed souls separate from their bodies are in heaven, and see God and the Divine Essence face to face, as far as the state and condition of the separated soul admits.' Having most expressly declared this as the faith of himself and the Catholic Church, none the less he submits this declaration to the determination of the Church and of his successors.

"Now, I would ask those who think that the faith published by the Roman Pontiff is no other than the very express faith of the Catholic Church, in what way they think that the faith of the Catholic Church, having been declared by John XXII.

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[2] Ap. Rainald. l. c.

in a Pontifical diploma, was again to be subjected, after examination, to the determination of the Church itself and of his successors?

"Will they answer that John XXII. declared his own individual faith, not as Pontiff? But he willed that that faith should be contained in a public diploma, his wonted title being prefixed. Or will they plead that these Pontifical letters were indeed engrossed, but were not 'bulled,' the death of John XXII.* supervening, as Benedict XII., his successor, attests? Is such a question indeed to be reduced to such follies? But what John had not time to do, Benedict supplied, and sent to all Churches an Epistle '*bulled*,' in the first year of his Pontificate, 1334[3].

"Yet, none the less, he had the faith of his predecessor, which by the diploma which he published he had declared to be his own also, reconsidered, and treated anew the question of the clear vision for two years, and at last defined it in the third year of his Pontificate, A. 1336[4]. So, then, he thought that the faith of Roman Pontiffs, declared by an authentic diploma, could be again brought into question.

"For, you will say, they had not yet pronounced it, using all solemnities, or that it was to be held by all under anathema, or that the contrary opinion was heretical; as though the Roman faith was only to be declared under anathema! For anathemas are wont to be pronounced only when heresy has arisen; but the true Faith, as it existed before all heresy and all anathemas, so also it may be declared without anathema.

2) "Gregory XI., ennobled by the restoration of the Apostolic See to Rome, being, when near death, minded like John XXII., published this: '[5]We will, say, and protest, of our certain knowledge, that, if in the Consistory, or in Council, or in discourse, or in conferences, public or private, by slip of speech, or otherwise from any disturbance of mind or inordinate joy, or

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[3] Bened. XII. Ep. 1. Conc. xi. 1793.

[4] Rain. A. 1336, n. 1, 2, 3.

[5] Testam. Greg. XI. Spicil. vi. 676.

through presence of the great, out of complaisance to them, or through any distempered or inordinate state, or by overflow of words, we have said any thing erroneous against the Catholic faith (which, before God and man, we, as we are bound above others, profess, cherish, and desire to cherish); or, perchance, by adhering to opinions contrary to the Catholic Faith, knowingly (which we do not believe), or ignorantly or by favour to any who spake against the Catholic religion, we expressly and specially recall the same, detest them, and wish them to be accounted as unsaid.'

"In which words he comprises equally what he had said in Consistory and in Council as in conversation; and he recognizes in himself every thing, whereby any mortal man could err, knowingly or ignorantly, in private or public.

"To the same effect is a proceeding of Pius IV. in Consistory, related by D. de la Haye, a Doctor in Theology, who, being sent to Rome about the marriage of Francis, son of Anne of Montmorency, relates what was done. He records that the Pontiff, in an assembly of the Cardinals, closed his discourse in nearly these words: '[6] I have assembled you that I might hear from you a matter of no slight moment, whether a marriage contracted by words in the present can be dissolved by our power. Mark carefully what I say, not words in the future or a simple promise: we ask whether marriage, through words in the present, which is a true marriage and a true sacrament according to the sounder mind of Theologians, can be dissolved by us. Do not, we beseech you, waste time in collecting the precedents and facts of our predecessors, which we profess that we will follow if they agree with the authority of Scripture and grounds of Theology. For I doubt not that I and my predecessors may have been mistaken, not in this fact only, but in others also.' See what Pontiffs, duly interrogated, that, in their Pontifical office, they would answer, decree, dispense, think of themselves. It is reported by those who thought nothing of Theological questions. Nor did Pius IV. say any

[6] Le Laboureur, Addit. aux Mém. de Casteln. T. ii. pp. 427, 428.

thing new; we have heard the like from his predecessors, who felt that they could, in the execution of the Apostolic office, have erred against the true faith, delivered by Scripture. This feeling, then, was believed to have been implanted in them by the very truth of faith, by which truth it is implanted in all Christians, that they feel that they daily sin in many things; and we believe that both confess, not in humility only, but in truth also; and that that humility rests not on words, nor on false sentiment, but on truth, as Augustine and the fathers of Carthage confessed[7]."

A recent learned work[8] adds to the cases of re-ordination of those validly, though sinfully, ordained, those who had been ordained by Constantine II., who had himself been obtruded by force into the Roman See. These, according to Anastasius[9], were consecrated anew by Pope Stephen IV.[1].

I suppose that none among you would now defend the particular word, whereby Berengar was re-

[7] S. Aug. De Nat. et Grat. c. 24, n. 42. Opp. x. 144, &c.

[8] Der Papst und das Concil, von Janus.

[9] Quoted by Baronius, A.D. 769, n. 5. In the margin, in four places, consecraret, consecrandi, consecrati are corrected into conciliaret, &c.; but the text in Muratori (Rerr. Ital. Scriptt. T. iii. P. 1. p. 177) has consecraret, &c., and the edition with various readings, Mog. 1602, has such various reading in one place only.

[1] Leo IX. annulled [cassasset] by synodical authority the ordination of simoniacal Bishops (P. Damian. Opusc. vi. 35), but I do not find any authority for his having reordained. The Vth Roman Synod, A. 1078, under Gregory VII., pronounced "infirm and void" (infirmas et irritas) not simoniacal ordinations only, but such as took place without the common consent of the clergy and people, according to canonical sanction, or not approved by those to whom consecration appertaineth." can. iv. (Conc. xii. 620, 621. Col.).

quired to express his belief in what he certainly did not believe—the real objective Presence—"sensualiter." Yet this was the declaration which he was required to make in the Roman Council of 1059.

"[2] I consent to the holy Roman Church and the Apostolic See, and I profess, with mouth and heart, that, in regard to the Sacrament of the Table of the Lord, I hold that faith, which the Lord and venerable Pope Nicolas and this holy Synod, by evangelic and Apostolic authority delivered to me to be held, and confirmed to me; viz. that the bread and wine which are placed on the altar, are, after consecration, not only the Sacrament, but also the very Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and are *sensibly*, not only in the Sacrament, but in the truth, handled in the hands of the priest, and broken and crushed by the teeth of the faithful; swearing this by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and by these all-holy Gospels of Christ."

As part of the same act, Berengarius had been required to anathematize as a heresy,—

"That the Body and Blood of Christ cannot be sensibly (sensualiter), save only in the Sacrament, handled by the hands of the priest or broken or crushed by the teeth of the faithful."

In the case of Papal infallibility, I see not how the term "sensualiter," the denial of which is rejected with anathema, and which is incorporated in the confession of faith prescribed by Nicolas II., would not be as much a part of faith as "Homöousios" or "Theotokos." The writers quoted say,—

"[3] At the Synod of Rome, A. 1059, Nicolas II. set forth the

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[2] Conc. xii. c. 6. Col.

[3] Der Papst, &c., p. 58.

capernaitic error in doctrine, that in the Eucharist the Body of Christ is sensibly (sensualiter) touched with the hands, broken and crushed by the teeth, an error in doctrine else rejected by the whole Church, and contradicting the dogma of the impassibility of the Body of Christ; and at the same time compelled Berengar to acknowledge it. Lanfranc censures Berengar, that he subsequently wished to make another, Card. Humbert, instead of the Pope, responsible for this doctrine."

The strange inference of Innocent III., that,—

"'Because Deuteronomy is interpreted the second law, it is proved from the force of the word, that what is there decreed ought to be observed in the New Testament,"—

has been observed by Bossuet[5]. Innocent uses it in proof that all difficult cases ought to be brought to Rome, "on the ground of the direction, that in cases too hard for them, they should go to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose." Since this is not a moral law, Innocent's maxim would make the political and ceremonial laws in Deuteronomy binding on Christians; which, of course, he could not mean.

A like case of unguarded inference by the same Pope would, if pressed, involve the principle that the Pope could dissolve marriage.

"[6] Innocent III., in order to exhibit the Papal power in the

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[4] Decr. Greg. IX., L. iv. tit. 17, c. 13.

[5] Def. L. ix. c. 39.

[6] Der Papst, &c., pp. 58, 59. "Since, then, the spiritual band is stronger than the carnal, it must not be doubted that Almighty God reserved the spiritual marriage, which is be-

highest splendour of Divine omnipotence, invented the new doctrine, that the spiritual band, which unites the Bishop of his diocese, is yet firmer and more indissoluble than what he speaks of as the 'fleshly' marriage band between man and wife, and so that God reserves to Himself alone the dissolution of that band, i. e. the translation of a Bishop from one see to another. Since, then, the Pope is on earth the Vicar of the true God, he and he alone dissolves this holy and indissoluble band, not by virtue of human, but by might of Divine, authority; and it is not man, but God, Who dissolves it. The inference which lies contained herein, that the Pope can dissolve the band of marriage too, as the less strong and less holy, Innocent, who, as we have seen, solemnly rejected the decision of Celestine III., as to the dissolubility of the marriage band, overlooked here, and involved himself unconsciously in a contradiction. Many Canonists have assumed this consequence of his doctrine, as right."

In this case, Innocent gave occasion to persevering wrong teaching. The question as to the definition of the form and matter of Sacraments, given by Eugenius IV. in his instruction to the Armenians, I will set down, as given in the same work.

tween the Bishop and his Church, to be dissolved by His own judgment alone, Who reserves the dissolution of the carnal marriage between man and woman for His own judgment alone, enjoining that 'whom God hath joined, man should not put asunder.' For not by human, but rather by Divine power is that spiritual marriage dissolved, when by authority of the Roman Pontiff, who is known to be the Vicar of Jesus Christ, a Bishop is removed from his Church by translation, or deposition, or even cession." Decr. Greg. IX., L. i. tit. 7, c. 2, repeated ib. c. 4, and, in part, c. 3. "With this doctrine a new article of faith was introduced; for through many centuries the Church knew nothing of this, that all cessions, translations, and depositions of Bishops, of Divine right, depended on the Pope alone." Ib. note 14.

"One of the most extensive dogmatic documents ever issued by Popes is the decree of Eugenius IV. to the Armenians, dated Nov. 22, 1439, three months after the Synod of Florence had been ended by the departure of the Greeks. It is a confession of faith of the Roman Church, which, in reference to the points in which the Armenians had hitherto varied, was to serve them as a rule of doctrine and of ecclesiastical life. The doctrines of the unity of the Divine Essence, of the Trinity, of the Humanity of Christ, and the seven Sacraments, are set forth. And the Pope asserts, moreover, that this decree, so solemnly published, had received the approbation of the Council, i.e. of those Italian Bishops whom he had retained in Florence.

"If this decree of the Pope were really a rule of faith, the Eastern Church would have only four Sacraments instead of seven; the Western Church would, at least for 800 years, have lacked three Sacraments, and among them one, the lacking whereof would have destroyed the value of all the rest, one only excepted. In this decree Eugenius IV. determines form and matter, the substance of the Sacraments or the things from whose presence or absence the existence of the Sacrament itself, according to the general doctrine, depends. He gives a form of 'Confirmation,' which in the one-half of the Church never existed, in the other came first into use after the tenth century. So is it with Penance. Here, too, there is given, as the essential Form of the Sacrament, a formula which the Greek Church never knew, nor the Western for eleven hundred years. When, moreover, in the Sacrament of Ordination, the touching of the vessels and the words to be spoken in so doing, are assigned as matter and form, it follows that for a thousand years the Latin Church had neither priests nor Bishops; nay, like the Greek, which never adopted that usage, possesses to this hour neither priests nor Bishops, consequently is deprived of the Sacraments too, except Baptism, and, perhaps, Marriage[1].

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[1] "See Denzinger, Enchiridion symbol. et definit. p. 200 sqq. Wirceb. 1854. Yet it must be said that Denzinger, in order

"It is remarkable that this decree, with which either Papal infallibility or the whole hierarchy, together with the Sacraments in the Church, stands or falls, is cited, refuted, and appealed to by all writers on dogma; but that the maintainers of Papal Infallibility have never entered upon its discussion. Neither Bellarmine nor Charles Aguirre, Orsi, or any other apologists of Curialism occupy themselves with it."

The necessity, under which Bellarmine found himself, to cover over the mistakes which Sixtus V. made in the correcting the Vulgate, shows the extent to which the doctrine of Papal Infallibility was thought to apply. I will give the account from the same work.

"[8] Even, then, when the Papal claims of infallibility had in Rome won a more definite form, Sixtus V., through his edition of the Bible, again imperilled them. The Council of Trent had declared the translation of Jerome to be the authentic text of the Bible for the Western Church, but there was as yet no authentic edition of the Latin Bible; i. e. none accredited by the Church. Sixtus V. undertook to give one; and it appeared, provided with the anathemas and penal enactments which had now so long been stereotyped. His Bull declared, that this edition, corrected by his own hands, must be adopted and used by all and each as the only true and genuine edition, under pain of excommunication; any change, even of a word, was forbidden under the like penalty.

"Now, then, it appeared that it was full of faults; some 2000 incorrect passages were found, for which the Pope himself was responsible. It was said that the Sixtine Bible must be openly forbidden. But Bellarmine advised to hush up, as far

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to veil in some measure the full dogmatic character of this celebrated decree, omitted the part relating to the doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation, which is to be found in Raynaldus, Annal. A. 1439."

[8] Ib. p. 65.

as possible, the great peril into which Sixtus V. had by his act brought the Church; all copies were to be withdrawn; the corrected Bible was to be reprinted, but under the name of Sixtus V., and it was to be given out in the Preface that the errors had been introduced through the fault of the compositors and the carelessness of others. Bellarmine himself received the commission to write the preface, and thereby to put in circulation this lie, to which the new Pope gave his name. In his Autobiography, the Jesuit and Cardinal boasted that he had thus requited Sixtus with good for evil, since the Pope had had Bellarmine's chief work, the Controversies, put on the Index, because in it he did not maintain the direct supremacy of the Pope over the whole world, but only the indirect.

"But now occurred a fresh mishap. The autobiography which was preserved in the Jesuit Archives at Rome, became known at Rome in a couple of copies. Card. Azzolini proposed that, since Bellarmine insulted three Popes, and represented two of them, Gregory XIV. and Clement VIII., as liars, his works should be suppressed, and the strictest secresy enforced[9]."

More striking yet, perhaps, are the proceedings in General Councils, when the decisions of Popes were reviewed and confirmed. The first two general Councils give only (as Bossuet observes) a negative evidence, in that, as to the Council of Nice, the decisiveness of its decision is ascribed, not to any special weight of the Roman See, but to this, that it was the voice of the Bishops of the universal Church[1]. S. Leo I. rests the authority of its

[9] "For, thinks Azzolini, what are we to say, if opponents can conclude, 'The Pope may err in expounding Holy Scripture to the Church; nay, he has actually erred, not only in expounding, but changing many things in it wrongly?' Voto nella causa della beatificazione del Card. Bellarmino, p. 40. Ferrara, 1762."

[1] Bossuet (Def. &c. vii. 7) quotes Rufinus, "The sentence

canons in this, that they "[2] were enacted by the Bishops of the whole world." The fathers of the 1st Council of Constantinople, at which Greek Bishops alone had been present, having related to Damasus "what they had decreed as to the faith in the Holy Ghost, and as to discipline," ask only that Damasus and the Bishops with him "should rejoice with them, in the bonds of brotherly love;" so, "when the word of God shall be established *by common consent*, and Christian charity shall be confirmed among us, we should cease to say, I am of Apollos and I of Cephas[3]." "They rest," adds Bossuet, "the interpretation of the word and the stability of the faith on common consent." Liberius had indeed written to the East when the Macedonian heresy arose, the belief of the West, that "the Holy Ghost is consubstantial and coequal

of the Sacerdotal Council is brought to Constantine; he reverences it as given by God" (H. E. i. 5), and Eusebius (De Vit. Const. iii. 14), and the Epistle of Constantine to the Alexandrians, "What seemed good to 300 Bishops may not be thought other than the sentence of God" (in Socr. i. 9 and Conc. ii. 61); and the summary of Sulpicius Severus, "A Synod is gathered at Nice from the whole world; 318 Bishops having been collected, the faith is written fully; the Arian heresy is condemned: the Emperor embraces the Episcopal decree; the Arians, not venturing to oppose the sound faith, mingled themselves in the Churches, as acquiescing, and not otherwise minded." "So," adds Bossuet, "the strength of the decree is placed in the consent of the Episcopal college."

[2] Ep. 80, ed. Quesn. al. 53. Boss.

[3] Ep. Conc. CP. i. in Theod. H. E. v. 9. Conc. ii. 965. See Bell. de Conc. i. 5. Boss.

with the Father and the Son;" but the addition to the Creed was drawn up by Easterns (S. Gregory of Nyssa being supposed to be its author), although its binding and irrefragable authority accrued to it from its reception by the whole Church.

In the third and fourth General Councils, however, there had been previous formal judgments by the Bishop of Rome. Homilies, in which Nestorius had his heresy preached at Constantinople, having found their way among the Egyptian monks, and the question being raised in Egypt also, S. Cyril learnt Nestorius's own complicity through correspondence with himself. S. Cyril's second letter to Nestorius was that dogmatic letter which was subsequently approved by the Council of Ephesus. Nestorius remaining obstinate in his heresy, S. Cyril, before renouncing his communion, applied to S. Celestine for his judgment upon it.

"[4] We do not expressly separate ourselves from communion with him, before communicating this to your Piety. Vouchsafe, then, to frame what seems good to you, and whether it is right to communicate with him, or to denounce to him plainly, that no one communicates with him, being so minded and so teaching. The view of your Piety hereon ought to be made clear by letter to the Bishops in Macedonia and all in the East. For so shall we give them the occasion they desire, that all, with one soul and one mind, may stand in defence of the true faith which is warred upon. For our great, admirable, esteemed fathers, who said that the holy Virgin was Theotokos, and we who yet live, have with them been anathematized by him."

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[4] Conc. Eph. P. i. c. 14. Conc. iii. 893. Col.

Nestorius also wrote to S. Celestine, for fear of the influence of Latin Pelagian Bishops who were at Constantinople on the mind of the Emperor[5]. S. Celestine brought both before a Roman Council, "[6] which examined the whole matter, and agreed unanimously that the impious dogma of Nestorius was to be condemned, and himself was to be anathematized, unless he repented within ten days after this sentence became publicly known to him."

S. Celestine, in communicating this to S. Cyril, said,—

"[7] We should ourselves have added somewhat, unless we saw that you, beloved brother, in all things were minded as we also are, and judged you to be a very strong vindicator in the confirmation of the faith;"

and committed to S. Cyril his own authority to excommunicate him.

To Nestorius himself he says,—

"[8] Know plainly that this is our sentence, that unless you teach openly what the Church of the Romans and of the Alexandrians and the whole Catholic Church holds, as also the Church in the great Constantinople until thyself; and, within ten days from this admonition, do, by a plain and written confession, reject that faithless novelty, which essays to separate what holy Scripture unites, you are ejected from the whole communion of the Catholic Church."

The whole having been suspended through the

[5] Ib. cc. 16, 17. col. 899—902.
[6] Conc. Rom. A. 430. Conc. iii. 555. Col.
[7] Conc. Eph. P. i. c. 15. Ib. 898.
[8] Ib. c. 18. col. 911.

summoning of an Œcumenical Council by Theodosius, the questions both of the faith of S. Cyril and Nestorius, and as to the person of Nestorius came before the Council of Ephesus.

S. Cyril himself, after the Nicene Creed had been recited and his own Epistle, in which Pope Celestine had so wholly concurred, put the question,—

"This holy and great Synod hath heard what I wrote to the most reverend Nestorius, advocating the right faith.

"I am minded, that in no way am I found to have gone from the right doctrine of faith, or to have transgressed what was set forth by the holy and great Synod, formerly gathered at Nice; and I call upon your holinesses to say whether I have rightly, and unblamably, and conformably to that holy Synod, written these things or no[0]."

The answers are instructive, in that each Bishop, known or now unknown, of important or of inferior sees, answers with his own separate responsibility, and affirms his own conviction, without deference either to S. Cyril or S. Celestine, that the Epistle of S. Cyril agreed with the faith of Nice.

Some said that "it expanded and elucidated what was there said compendiously[1]," free from all novelty, and so that they agreed to it as being the faith of the fathers; some, that it differed in words only[2]; some,

[0] Ib. Act. i. col. 1008.

[1] Firmus, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappad. Conc. Eph. Act. 1. Conc. iii. 1008. Col. Theodotus of Ancyra, Flavian of Philippi (1009), Aphthonetus of Heraclea of Caria (1025).

[2] Prothymius of Comane (1012); Valerian of Iconium, "In

that it agreed with the faith of Nice and the tradition of the fathers[3], or "exactly preserved the Apostolic tradition[4];" some, more personally, that they had taught it[5]; that in it they hoped to live and die[6] and go before the judgment-seat of Christ[7]; this was the faith in which they had been baptized[8], and which they hoped to retain undefiled to the end, and with it to be presented unto Christ[9]; and so on through fifteen columns.

In like way the Epistle of Nestorius to S. Cyril was read, considered, and condemned. S. Cyril asked,—

"[1] What thinketh this holy and great Synod about the letter just read? Doth this too appear to be in harmony with the

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different words we find one and the same canon of faith, since both are suggested by the same Holy Spirit;" so also Fidus of Joppa, Paulianus of Maiumas of the first Palestine (1013), John of Hephaistos (1028), Metrodorus of Leontopolis (1029), Hermogenes of Rhinocorura (1036), &c.

[3] Acacius of Melitene (1009), Perigenes of Corinth (1012).

[4] Amphilochius of Sida (1012).

[5] Daniel of Colonia of Cappad. (1013), Macedonius of Xois (1033).

[6] Domnus of Opus (1013), Acacius of Coteni (1016), Taurianus of Lurbe (1016), Matidianus of Coracesium (1016), Nesius of Colybrassus, Epiphanius of Cratea, Eusebius of Heraclea (1017), &c.

[7] Nunechius of Selge (1016).

[8] Solon of Carallia (1016), Silvanius of Ceratapa (1017).

[9] Prothymius of Comane (1011), Eutropius of Etena (1017), Alypius of Sele (1033).

[1] Ib. 1037.

faith, defined in the holy Synod of the holy fathers once gathered at Nice?"

And each Bishop in succession pronounces his own independent judgment in his own language[2], that it was at variance and altogether alien from the faith set forth at Nice, or (as many add) from the Epistle of S. Cyril.

"In the same way," says Bossuet[3], "by the same rule whereby the Epistle of Cyril was approved, the Epistle of Nestorius was disapproved. Twice in the same session of the Council of Ephesus the saying and promulgated judgment of the Roman Pontiff on the Catholic faith is re-considered. What he had approved and what he had disapproved, are alike brought again under examination, and are not confirmed until considered."

In like way as to the person of Nestorius. His deprivation followed necessarily upon his conviction of a perseverance in heresy. But the Council ascertained that all was done in order. The Epistles of S. Celestius and S. Cyril to Nestorius were read and inserted in the Acts. It was ascertained on oath that they had been delivered and the answer evaded; blasphemous language of Nestorius during the Council was also attested on oath; extracts from older fathers, contravening his heresy, were read and owned as the faith of the Synod; passages of Nestorius containing his heresy were also read; also an Epistle of Capreolus, in behalf of the Bishops of Africa (whose meeting in

[2] Col. 1037—1045.

[3] Def. &c., vii. 11.

Synod was prevented by the ravages of the Vandals), exhorting the Council to resist any contradictions of the fixed Catholic faith. The Synod proceeded to the sentence,—

"[4] The most impious Nestorius having, in addition to all besides, refused to obey our citation, and not having even received the most godly Bishops sent by us, we have been forced to examine his ungodlinesses, and having ascertained both from his Epistles and other writings, and from what he has been attested to have said lately in this metropolis, that he both holds and teaches things ungodly, we, necessitated by the canons, and from the epistle of our most holy father and fellow-minister Celestine, Bishop of the Church of the Romans, with manifold tears have proceeded to this mournful sentence against him, 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who hath been blasphemed by him, hath defined through this present most holy Synod that this same Nestorius is alien from the Episcopal dignity and the whole priestly conclave."

This sentence the Bishops severally subscribe, "decreeing with the holy Synod" or "agreeing with the holy Synod[5]:"—

"You see," says Bossuet, "that the canons are conjoined with the Epistle of Celestine" [the first place being assigned to the canons], "highly to the commendation of the majesty of the Apostolic See. You see that the Synod executed what Celestine had decreed, and constrained thereby" [and by the canons] "proceeded to the mournful sentence; but by a new judgment of their own, published in the name of Christ; but after it was ascertained through a regular cognizance of the cause, that all had been done rightly and in order."

The righteous judgment of S. Celestine was found upon examination to be righteous; it was

[4] Ib. 1077. [5] Ib. 1077—1088.

found also that Nestorius had not amended; and the Council proceeded to the inevitable sentence. But it speaks of the act as its own.

"[6] The sentence pronounced by the Synod is written to Nestorius. '[7] The holy Synod to Nestorius, the new Judas. Know that [on account of the ungodly teaching and disobedience to the canons, according to the tenor of the ecclesiastical laws] thou art deposed by the holy Synod.' So he who, before the examination by the Synod was [after the condemnation by Celestine] called the *most religious Bishop*, is now called *the new Judas*, and deposed irrevocably from his see, and sentence is promulgated.

"So a most momentous matter is completed by that fullest consent, whereby we have said that all things in the Church stand. Sentence is given by Celestine, is suspended by the calling of a general Council, is examined, cognizance being had, is corroborated by a new irrevocable judgment, the authority of the whole Church being conjoined.

"This the fathers profess in their relation to the Emperor. '[8] We have removed him from the priesthood and from his corrupt teaching, having canonically deposed him, praising also the most pious and holy Celestine, Bishop of great Rome, who before our sentence condemned the heretical dogmas of Nestorius, for the safety of the Churches and of the godly and saving faith delivered to us by the holy Apostles and Evangelists.' "

The Roman legates, who were also representatives of the whole West, arrived subsequently, examined the acts, and declared that all was rightly done. So Philip the presbyter :—

"[9] Sure then is the sentence passed against him, according to

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[6] Boss.
[7] Act. i. col. 1087. Col.
[8] Ib. col. 1100.
[9] Act. iii. col. 1155.

the decree of all the Churches, since in this priestly Synod the Bishops of the Eastern and Western Churches are present, either by themselves or their legates. Wherefore the present holy Synod, following the patterns of the fathers, defined, passing sentence against the blasphemous and rash man," &c.

Arcadius also, another legate, speaks of—

"[1] Following the form of the most holy Pope of the Apostolic See, who vouchsafed to commit this matter to us and sent us to execute it, following also the decrees of the Synod."

S. Cyril sums up this act,—

"[2] Since occupying the place of the Apostolic See and of the whole holy Synod of the most holy God-beloved Bishops in the West, they have executed what has been already defined by the most holy and God-beloved Bishop Celestine, and have agreed with the sentence passed by the holy Synod gathered here in Ephesus against the heretic Nestorius, let the acts of yesterday and to-day be added to what has already been done, and let them be brought to their Piety, that by their signature, according to custom, they may make plain their canonical consent with us all."

Arcadius answers—

"[3] According to what has been done in this holy Synod, we must needs confirm their doctrine with our signature."

Thus the East and West, as the Synod proceeded to inform the Emperor[4], were united in the condemnation of Nestorius; and the legates of the Pope attested that the formal examination of what he had already approved or disapproved was a Canonical proceeding; yet, on the theory of Papal

[1] Ib. 1158.
[2] Ib.
[3] Ib.
[4] Ib. 1160, l.

infallibility, it would have been the denial of the Divine gift to himself.

Bossuet notices also how S. Celestine speaks of the office of the Synod as common with his own [5]. He speaks also of the whole Council as inspired by the Holy Ghost in a way which he does not claim for himself.

"[6] This gathering of the priests manifests the presence of the Holy Ghost. For that is true which we read, because the truth cannot lie, whose sentence in the Gospel is, 'Where two or three are gathered in My Name, there am I also in the midst of them.' This being so, if the Holy Ghost is not wanting to so small a number, how much more do we believe Him to be present when such a multitude of saints is met in one! Holy, for the reverence which befits it, is the Council, wherein is to be seen now the venerableness of that most full congregation of Apostles which we read of. Never was their Master whom they had to preach lacking to them: their Lord and Master was ever with them; neither were the teachers ever deserted by their Teacher. This care of the enjoined teaching *came to all the priests of the Lord in common; by hereditary right* we are constrained to this anxiety, *all of us who*, in different parts of the world, proclaim in their stead the Name of the Lord, in that it is said to them, 'Go, teach all nations.' Observe, brethren, that we have received a general command. *He* willed that we should all do this, Who so laid this office in common upon them all. We must all befittingly follow our authors. We must all enter into their labours, *to whom we have all succeeded* in honour.—The guardianship of things delivered is not inferior to the office of him who delivered them. They sowed the seed of faith; let our solicitude guard it, that the coming of the Householder may find the fruit incorrupt and manifold.—*We must, then, by common*

[5] Def. vii. 14.

[6] Conc. Eph. Act. ii. col. 1143.

toil, so act that we may keep what has been entrusted to us, and which through the Apostolic succession has been retained until now."

"From this doctrine of S. Celestine," says Bossuet, "[7] we deduce much; first, that the Bishops were, in the Apostles, constituted teachers by Christ Himself; not by Peter or the successors of Peter. Nor does the Pontiff, placed in such high eminence, think it unworthy of him to class himself among the other Bishops. 'We all,' he says, 'in the Apostles' stead, preach the Name of the Lord; we have all succeeded them in honour;' that it might be the more clear that the authority of teaching was transfused by Christ as well to Celestine himself as to the other Bishops. Hence the deposit of sacred doctrine was committed to all, since the custody thereof was with all, and so the faith was to be established by the common care and consent, nor would the protection of Christ the True Master be lacking to the masters of the Churches. These things Celestine lays down in common as to himself and all Bishops, successors of the Apostles; as also that corollary, that the Apostles, when gathered in Council about the keeping of the law, together promulged that sentence of the Holy Ghost and their own; that so it should be in other controversies of highest moment, and the Council of the Apostles should live again in the Councils of Bishops. Which things show that the force of Councils, and the settlement of the question, rests, not on the sentence of Peter himself, or the successors of Peter, but on the consent of all."

S. Leo I., although against his own first judgment and that of S. Flavian, assented to the Emperor's summoning what became the Robber-Council of Ephesus, and "[8] praised the Emperor that 'he wished to have a Council of Bishops, so that all error might be abolished by a fuller judg-

[7] Ib. vii. c. 14, pp. 457, 458.

[8] Conc. Chal. P. i. Ep. 13. S. Leon. Ep. 29, al. 15.

ment.'" He mentions that he had sent Legates "who," he says[9], "in my stead, may be present in your Convention, brethren, and may, by a common sentence with you, settle what shall be pleasing to the Lord."

"From all this," says Bossuet[1], "we have these three results; 1) that in questions of faith, it is not always necessary that an Œcumenical Synod should be convoked; 2) that Leo, great Pontiff as he was, did not shrink from a synodical judgment after a matter had been judged by himself, if the cause were adequate; 3) that if a synod were held, an error was abolished *by a fuller judgment;* and that a question ought to be finished from the Apostolic See, by a common sentence with the Bishops: whereby he acknowledges the strength of common consent, which we have so often mentioned."

This Council having come to nought through the violence of Dioscorus, the accomplice of Eutyches, and S. Leo having in vain attempted in his own name "with," he says[2], "my fellow-Bishops," "all the Churches of our parts," to obtain from Theodosius "a general Synod within Italy, which should so repel or mitigate offences that nothing should be left doubtful in faith or divided in love, the Bishops of the Eastern provinces also meeting together," things remained in disorder until the death of Theodosius.

In view of the Council of Chalcedon, S. Leo had sent his dogmatic letter, which he had written to

[9] Ib.

[1] Boss. Def. vii. 15, p. 461.

[2] Conc. Chalc. P. i. n. 20, col. 807, 810. Col.

S. Flavian with such wonderful clearness and precision, to the Bishops of East and West. It had been previously accepted and subscribed, at least widely, among both. And here again we see the practice of previously obtaining the assent of the Bishops of the West, so that the Bishop of Rome sent his legates to the East, fortified with the consent of the West. "We could have wished," S. Leo writes to some Bishops of France, who had been hindered from meeting in Synod, probably at Arles,—

"[2] that we had received your letters, brethren, at the time when you promised, that the profession of your judgments might be added to our brethren, who were to go to the East, whom we directed to the holy Synod in our stead for the defence of the Catholic faith."

Their letter, he says, however, bore him out in having alleged the agreement of the West.

"We perceive that we had rightly intimated to our Eastern brethren and fellow-Bishops, that the confession of *us all* was absolutely one, according to the Evangelic and Apostolic tradition on the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that we were not held captive by any of their disputes, so as to be in any thing otherwise minded as to the truth of that supreme and saving sacrament, than we have learnt and teach, from the teaching of the ancient fathers and from the authority of the unchangeable symbol, Eutyches now, and Nestorius before, having been condemned by the universal Church."

The Bishops had subscribed the Epistle, some, as expressing their previous belief, some, having had their misgivings removed by it.

[2] Conc. Chalc. P. i. Ep. 52, col. 580. Col.

"[4] Which writings of your Apostolate, whoever neglects not the sacraments of redemption, inscribed on the tables of his heart as a Creed of faith, and committed it firmly to memory, that he might be more ready to confound the errors of heretics. Many then, rejoicing and exulting in it, recognized in it their own faith, and rightly joy that they alway so held by tradition from the fathers, as the Apostolate held. Others, who had become anxious, having received the admonition of your blessedness, congratulate themselves every way that they have been instructed, and joy that an occasion has been given them to speak out freely and confidently, with the suffrage also of the Apostolic See, and to express what each believes."

Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople, had also subscribed it[5], as had others very many[6]. In the Council itself, when the dogmatic Epistle of Leo had been read, supported by testimonies of the Fathers, it was received with acclamation[6].

"[7] This is the faith of the Fathers; this is the faith of the Apostles. We all so believe; the orthodox so believe. Anathema to him who does not so believe. Peter by Leo hath so spoken. The Apostles so taught. Piously and truly hath Leo taught, Cyril so taught. Eternal be the memory of Cyril! Leo and Cyril have taught alike. Anathema to him who doth not so believe. This is the true faith. We Catholics so believe. This is the faith of the Fathers. Why was not all this read at Ephesus? Dioscorus hid it."

The fathers receive that wonderful Epistle, not on the authority of Leo, but as expressing the faith

[4] Ep. Synod. Episc. Gall. ad Leon. Pap. Ib. Ep. 51, col. 578, signed by forty-three Bishops.

[5] Conc. Chal. P. i. Ep. 35 Pulcheria Leoni.

[6] All the reverend Bishops exclaimed, "We so believe, none of us doubt: we have all subscribed." Act. ii. fin. col. 1240. Col.

[7] Ib. col. 1236.

of the Fathers. When some Bishops of Illyria and Palestine doubted about certain expressions, they were reconciled to them on being shown that S. Cyril had said the same[8]. Five days' respite[9] having been given, before it was proposed finally for reception, it was formally proposed, first by Paschasinus and the other legates, then by the judges and senate.

The Roman legates first state[1],—

"This holy and most blessed Synod follows and holds the rule of faith, which was fixed at Nice by the Fathers; and, moreover, the Synod of the 150 gathered at Constantinople under the elder Theodosius of blessed memory confirmed that same faith; the exposition of which Creed, set forth at Ephesus by Cyril of blessed memory, when Nestorius was for his craft condemned, it in like way embraceth. Thirdly, the writings of the most blessed and apostolic man, Leo, Pope of the universal Church, who condemneth the heresy of Nestorius and Eutyches, have explained what the true faith hath. In like way also this holy Synod too holdeth and followeth this faith; nor can it add and diminish aught besides."

On this, when translated into Greek, followed the acclamations, "We all thus believe; so were we baptized; so baptize we; so have we believed, so believe we."

On this the question was put formally by the judges and senate,—

"Since we see that the holy Gospels have been placed by

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[8] Ib. col. 1237.

[9] Ib. 1240.

[1] Conc. Chal. Act. iv. col. 1362.

your reverences [as a symbol of Christ's Presence], let each of the Bishops present *teach* whether the exposition of the 318 fathers assembled at Nice, and of the 150 afterwards assembled in the royal city, agrees with the faith of the most reverend Archbishop Leo."

Bossuet observes [2],—

"It is worth while to weigh the judgments and votes of the fathers, that we may understand from the fountain-head why the Epistle was adopted, why it was afterwards maintained with so much zeal, why it was approved by so exact an examination of the Synod. Anatolius first pronounces his sentence. 'The Epistle of the most holy Leo agrees with the Symbol of the 318 fathers at Nice, and of the 150 afterwards collected at Constantinople, who confirmed the same faith; yea, and with what was done at Ephesus under the most blessed and most holy Cyril by the universal and holy Council, when it condemned the accursed Nestorius. Wherefore I consent and subscribe gladly.'

"This is the language of one who openly deliberates, not of one who subscribes by blind impulse out of mere obedience. The rest in the same sense, '[3] It agrees, and I have subscribed;' many clearly and expressly, '[4] It agrees, and therefore I have subscribed.' Some added, '[5] It agrees, and I have sub-

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[2] Defens. &c., vii. 17.

[3] Marinianus of Synnada (col. 1368); Atarbius of Trapezus, Dorotheus of Neo-Cæsarea (1373, 1376); Eustochius of Docimium of Phrygia (1392); "I subscribe, *for* they agree with the 318," Eulogius of Philadelphia of Arabia (1388).

[4] This is the form used by the great majority of the Council, συνᾴδει, σύμφωνός ἐστιν, or σύμφωνα ἐδίδαξε, &c. It expresses the personal conviction of the Bishops, that the Epistle of Leo did agree with the faith as set forth by the three preceding General Councils; and that being so, they subscribe.

[5] Stephen of Ephesus, col. 1364; Diogenes of Cyzicus (in the Latin), ib.

scribed, since it is right;' others, '[6]I certainly know that it agrees;' others, '[7]Since it is consonant thereto, and hath the same object, we have embraced and subscribed;' others, '[8]This faith we have held of old; this we hold; in this we were baptized, in this we baptize;' others, and a great part, '[9]Since I

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[6] *ἐπίσταμαι*, Apragmonius of Tios (1388); *γνωρίζω, γνωρίζομεν*, Pergamus of Antioch. Pisid., Theodore of Tarsus (1364); *ἔγνων*, Marinianus of Synnada (1368).

[7] The words themselves are of Peter of Gangra (1368). Sometimes it is expressed, "With the Epistle of Leo, agreeing with the 318, I agree" (*συνᾳδούσῃ-συνᾴδω* or *συναινῶ*), as Theodoret of Alabanda of Caria (1393), *συμφωνούσῃ-συναινῶ*.

[8] Polychronius of Epiphania of Cilicia (col. 1385), "in the faith of the 318 of Nice and the 150 at Constantinople we were both baptized and baptize, and finding," &c., John of Germanicia (1377). In every case the reference is to previous faith, with which that set forth by S. Leo was identical. Neoptolemus of Corna in Lycaonia, says, "Our country, from the first pure from heretical diseases, had not been exercised by such questions, and we have believed more simply, following the faith of the fathers, set forth at Nice, which Cyril of blessed memory subsequently interpreted, and again the most holy Archbishop Leo of Rome; and we do not oppose these expositions" (1389). In much the same way Paul of Derbe in Lycaonia (1392). Florentius, of Adrianopolis of Pisidia, says, "We have so believed before the exposition of S. Cyril and Leo" (1389). Some put the Epistles of Cyril and Leo together as agreeing; Julian of Celenderis (1388); Romanus of Myra (1389); Eunomius of Nicomedia speaks of S. Leo as having carefully followed (*ἐξακολουθήσας*) the faith of the fathers; and this as he had kept, so he would keep (1385).

[9] Bossuet has taken the expressions of the Latin translation: the Greek are, *εὑρίσκομεν, εὑρίσκω, εὑρὼν, εὗρον, εὑρήκαμεν*. Seleucius of Amasea, Patricius of Tyana (col. 1364); Photius of Tyre (1365); Serenus of Maximinianopolis Rhodop. (1377); Eusebius of Seleucobelus (ib.); Anastasius of Nice (ib.); Ouranius of Emesa (ib.); John of Germanicia (ib.); Andrew of

see, since I perceive, since I apprehend, since I find that it agrees, I have subscribed.' Others, '[1] Persuaded, instructed, being certain that all things agree, I have subscribed.' Others, chiefly Bishops of Macedonia and Greece Proper, say, that the Roman Legates explained to them difficulties which arose from the language, and that Anatolius had removed all doubt, in that they 'anathematized every one who separated the flesh of our Lord and God from the Divinity,' &c.; and conclude, "Being thereby fully assured, and esteeming that the Epistle agrees in all things with the aforesaid holy fathers, we have consented to it and subscribed.' Others[2] declared that certain expressions in S. Leo's letter had stood in their way, as exhibiting a certain division and separation [in the Person of Christ] to those who wish to be so minded,—then they had been satisfied by the explanation of the legates, that '[3] they speak of no division in our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus

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Sagara (1388); Basil of Nacolea (1392); Cyriacus of Eucarpus (ib.); Aberkios of Hierapolis (1393); Strategius of Polyboteis (ib.); Kritonianus of Aphrodisia of Caria (ib.); Papias of Erize (ib.); Eupathius of Stratonikea (ib.); Menander of Heraclea Sabbace (ib.); Tynchanius of Apollonias (ib. and 1396); Gemellus of Stratonikea (1396); Lucius of the fane of Apollo (ib.); Julian of Halicarnassus (ib.); *συνιδὼν*, Onesiphorus of Iconium (1368); *ὁρῶν*, Dokimasius of Maronea Rhodop. (1377); *ἔκρινα*, Eusebius of Dorylæum (1365); *ἐδοκιμάσαμεν*, Acholius of Laranda (1392).

[1] *πεπληροφόρημαι.* Constantius of Melitene of the Second Armenia (col. 1364); "having persuaded myself (*ἐμαυτὸν πληροφορήσας*) from many things," Frontinianus of Sagalassus (1389); Ætherius of Pompeiopolis, *πληροφορηθεὶς* (1369); Philip of Lysias Phryg. (1392).

[2] Seven Bishops of the First Macedonia, seven of Hellas, five of old Epirus, two of new Epirus, four of Crete, and six Metropolitans, Thessalonica, Corinth, Nicopolis, Dyrrhachium, Larissa, and Gortyne (col. 1380, 1381).

[3] Dictated by Marcian, Bishop of Jotapa, in the name of fifteen Bishops of Palestine (ib. col. 1380. 1384).

Christ, but of one and the same Lord, the Son of God,' 'wherefore we have agreed and have subscribed the tome. We believe that they too now, if they be invited by your greatness, will confess the same for the benefit of the whole world.' All the aforesaid most reverend Bishops said, 'We have all said the same things, and agree therewith.' "

Bossuet cites to the same effect the adhesion of Eusebius of Milan with a Council of nineteen other Bishops, who having, after the Council, received the Epistle of S. Leo, said to him,—

"[4] It was evident that it shone forth, full of the simplicity of faith, and that through evidences from the prophets, authorities of the Gospels, and testimonies of the Apostolic doctrine, it radiates with a pure light and brightness of truth; and, in all its meanings, agrees with what Bl. Ambrose, moved by the Holy Ghost, inserted in his books on the mystery of the Incarnation of the Lord. And since all things agree in all purity with the faith of our forefathers, it seemed good to us all—that those who think impiously of the mystery of the Incarnation of the Lord, should, by their consent too, meet with the befitting condemnation, the sentence of your authority preceding."

S. Leo himself speaks of the strength which the faith had gained through the concurrence of the 600 Bishops of the Council and of the whole world.

"[5] Now there is no excuse of ignorance or difficulty of understanding left to any, since this very Synod of 600, our brethren and fellow-Bishops, allowed no art of reasoning, no eloquence of discussion, to breathe against the foundation of faith, since, through exertions of our brethren and vicars, aided by the grace of God, it appeared fully and evidently, not only

[4] Ep. Euseb. Mediol. post Ep. 52 Leon. I., Conc. iv. 583, Col.
[5] Ep. 52, Episc. Gall. Conc. iv. 581. Col.

to all the priests of Christ, but also to the Christian princes and powers, and to all clergy, peoples, orders, that this is truly the Apostolic faith, flowing from the fountain of Divine piety, which, as we have received, so we preach, pure and free from the dregs of error, and maintain, the whole world now agreeing therein."

All this is summed up in the Vth General Council, in which, having been assembled a century after the IVth, inquiry was had—

"[6] How writings on the faith were approved in the Third and Fourth Councils. After examination of the Acts as to the Epistles of S. Cyril and S. Leo, the holy Synod said: 'From what has been recited, it is manifest how sacred Synods are wont to approve what is produced in them. For great as was the renown of those holy men who wrote those Epistles recited, yet they did not pass the approbation of those Epistles *simply or without examination*, unless they had first[7] *known* that they throughout agreed with the exposition and doctrine of the holy Fathers, with which comparison was made.'

"As to the Epistle of Ibas," says Bossuet, "it was clear from the Acts that this was not so done. They concluded, then, very rightly that that Epistle was not approved. So, then, it was certain from the Third and Fourth Synods, as the Fifth defined and understood, that Epistles approved by the Apostolic See, as that of Cyril, or even proceeding from it, as that of Leo, were *not* received by the sacred Synods *simply or without inquiry.*

"Again, in the same Fifth Synod, what was done against the Epistle of Nestorius was read, wherein the fathers of Ephesus pronounce distinctly that the Epistle of Nestorius is '[8] no wise consonant to the faith set forth at Nice.' So that Epistle too was rejected, not simply; but, as was meet, inquisition had,

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[6] Boss. vii. 19.

[7] Conc. Const. ii. (gener. v.) collat. vi. T. v. 541.

[8] Ib.

Ibas was condemned, '[9]who said that Nestorius was condemned in the Council of Ephesus without examination and inquiry.'

"The fathers proceed to do what the Bishops of Chalcedon would have done, had they undertaken to examine the Epistle of Ibas. They compare that Epistle with the Acts of Ephesus and Chalcedon. Which being done, [1]the sacred Synod said, 'The comparison made shows manifestly, that the Epistle which Ibas is said to have written is throughout contrary to the definition which the Synod of Chalcedon pronounced for the right faith.' All the Bishops exclaimed, 'We all say this; the Epistle is heretical.'

"Thus, then, according to the fifth Synod, our holy fathers in the Œcumenical Councils pronounce in the same way that the Epistles, whether of Catholics or heretics, or even of Roman Pontiffs, even when written on the faith, were orthodox or heretical, having investigated and thus ascertained the truth by lawful cognizance, and then giving judgment thereon.

"But, you will say, did they make no difference and keep their minds evenly balanced in both cases? I have said, and will often say, that there was a presumption in favour of orthodox Pontiffs; but in Œcumenical Councils, where judgment was to be given in matters of faith, they must needs act, not on presumption, but on a clear perception of truth."

The contradiction of the Constitutum of Vigilius by the Vth General Council, and the condemnation of Honorius by the VIth have occurred already. I would, however, subjoin Mgr. Maret's abridgment of the Decretal Epistle, in which Vigilius accepted the condemnation of the three chapters, which he had before rejected, and had come under the general condemnation of the Council, of their

[9] Ib. coll. viii. cap. xiv. col. 578.
[1] Ib. coll. vi. col. 548.

defenders, and of those who have written or write in their defence [2].

"[3] Six months after the close of the Council, Vigilius gave a decretal to confirm its sentence. It is addressed to the Patriarch Eutychius and the Council of Constantinople.

"The Pope begins by affirming that it is the devil, enemy of the human race and of the Church of Jesus Christ, who, by his artifices, succeeded in separating him from his brothers and co-Bishops of the Council, those brothers who profess an equal and inviolable faith in the four general Councils. Under this unhappy influence, he who was of one mind in one faith, had despised brotherly love, and had been led away to discord. But Jesus Christ, our God, Who is the true Light, had removed all confusion from his mind; and, to restore peace to the Church, had 'taught him, after careful research, what he ought to define.' He declares then to his brethren, that with them he venerates the four Councils. Then, recalling the trouble which had arisen about the three Chapters, and what various things had been done and said thereon, he says that he had thought it his duty to re-examine these questions; and, after the example of S. Augustine and other fathers, who reviewed, corrected, supplemented their writings, he had with the greatest care sought the truth on all these matters. The result of this examination had been to discover to him the errors of Theodorus, Theodoret, and Ibas. He concludes with these words, 'We condemn and anathematize the three impious chapters, i.e. the impious Theodore of Mopsuestia, with his impious writings, and what Theodoret wrote impiously, and the Epistle said to have been written by Ibas, wherein the aforesaid profane blasphemies are contained.' Vigilius enumerates the errors of Ibas in the terms which the Council had

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[2] Conc. Const. ii. collat. 8. Conc. vi. 206. Col.

[3] Du Concile général et de la paix religieuse, T. i. p. 263. Mgr. Maret entertains no doubt of the genuineness of the Epistle of Vigilius, as, indeed, I see not what can be alleged against it. See De Marca's Diss., Conc. vi. 245, sqq.

employed. He ends, as did the Council, by subjecting to anathema *all* the defenders of the three Chapters, and he annuls (evacuamus) all which he had himself written in their defence."

"It cannot be doubted," says Mgr. Maret subsequently[4], "that the *Constitutum* was a solemn judgment of the Holy See, a judgment invested with all its authority.

"At the commencement of this act Vigilius recalls the right of his see to give his sentence first. The decree bears on matters of faith or dogmatic facts. It had for it the adhesion of a minority of Bishops. It contains the most formal orders, and is addressed to a Council, which regards itself as general.

"Some respectable theologians have objected, however, that this decree lacked one of the conditions of solemn and irrefragable judgment of the Apostolic See, since it did not pronounce excommunication on the refractory.

"Without entering into the question whether excommunication is a rigorously necessary condition of the dogmatic judgment of the Holy See, we would say to these theologians, that if they had read the *Constitutum* carefully, they might have counted in it sixty-one anathemas. Excommunication, then, occurs in it sixty-one times. This last condition, then, of solemn judgments of the Holy See exists superabundantly. It is true, however, that the last excommunication alone is directed against the adversaries of the Epistle of Ibas. But does not one excommunication suffice to fulfil the required condition?

"The Council, we saw, regarded this act of Vigilius as not happened; and its sentence, in a capital point, differed essentially from that of Vigilius. The Council declared that letter of Ibas, which the Pope had declared orthodox, to be impious and heretical; and the sentence of the Council prevailed over the sentence of the Pope, since the Pope withdrew and annulled his own to confirm that of the Council.

"[5] As it was not the judgment of the Pope which became law, but that of the Council; as the majority did not go to the

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[4] Du Concile général et de la paix religieuse, T. i. p. 268.

[5] Ib. p. 270.

Pope, but the Pope to the majority; as the Council brought over the Pope to its mind, it was proved on this solemn occasion, more than, perhaps, it had ever been, that a legitimate Council possesses a light and an authority peculiar to itself, and which is not lost on account of a passing disagreement with a Pope.

"It was proved that the Council may enlighten the Pope, and that the union and unity of the Episcopate and the Holy See may be established by the deference of the Pope towards the Bishops, as well as by that of the Bishops towards the Pope."

In the VIth General Council, besides the condemnation of Honorius, there occurred the reception, after examination, of the dogmatic letter of Pope Agatho, the mode of whose reception is illustrated by the corresponding condemnation of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, and his doctrine. I will again give both in the words of Mgr. Maret.

"[6] What is of most importance to appreciate, is the manner in which the Council accepted the Pontifical letter which had been read in the fourth session.

"The Pontifical letter, having been written scarcely a year before, could not have the adhesion of the universal Church; and the VIth Council, like the preceding, had the right to examine whether this letter was a faithful exposition of the faith.

"At the end of the seventh session, and when all the authorities on both sides had been produced, the legates demanded of the Patriarchs, George of Constantinople, Macarius of Antioch, and the Bishops of their Patriarchates, ['7] whether they agreed

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[6] Du Concile général et de la paix religieuse, T. i. pp. 282, sqq.

[7] Conc. Const. iii. p. 724.

with the tenour of the two suggestions which had been read, i. e. of Agatho the most holy Pope of the Apostolic See, and of the Council under him.' The Patriarchs and their Bishops answered, 'We ask for copies of the aforesaid suggestions. For, going over them and comparing the testimonies of the approved holy fathers in them with the MSS. of the Patriarchal library, we shall in the next session give a competent answer[8].' This request was granted instantly."

"Three weeks afterwards the eighth session was held, in which were proclaimed the result of the examination and the votes. The Emperor, with the consent of the legates, solemnly put this question to the Patriarchs and their Bishops, 'Do you agree with the sense of the suggestions of Agatho and his Council?'[9]"

"The Patriarch George answered,—

"'Having inspected the whole bearing of the relation sent by Agatho, the most holy Pope of the elder Rome, and his Synod; and having searched the books of the holy and approved fathers, laid up in my Patriarchate, I found all the testimonies of the holy and approved fathers contained in those relations agreeing, and in nothing differing therefrom, and I agree therewith, and so I confess and believe.'

"All the Bishops of the Patriarchate of Constantinople except one, who raised a difficulty which he afterwards withdrew, opined in the same sense and almost the same words as the Patriarch.

"This vote was followed with the usual acclamations in honour of the Emperor, the Pope, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Senate.

"The Council afterwards asked that Macarius should make his profession of faith as to the two wills of Jesus Christ."

On his denying this, the Council said,—

"Since he does not consent to the force of the orthodox

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[8] Conc. Const. iii. p. 725.

[9] Ib. 729.

relations sent by Agatho—which have been read before your Piety, which also we *have all gladly received,* agreeing therewith, we judge that he should leave his seat, having to answer for this[1]." "In the course of his interrogation every means of explaining and defending himself was given him, every effort made to bring him back from his error. At last, abandoned by his Bishops, convicted of having mutilated the passages of the fathers which he cited in his behalf, he was condemned and deposed[2].

"The consequences of these facts are grave, and fully confirm the preceding conclusions.

"First, it is evident, from the conduct of the VIth Council towards the Monothelites, and especially to Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, that these sectaries, who were certainly in error and already condemned by an authority worthy of the greatest respect, were not definitively banished from the Church, save by the sentence of the Council.

"In the second place, it is as clear as the day, that the acceptance of the letter of Pope S. Agatho by the VIth Council was the fruit of a free judicial examination. This liberty of examination shows itself there yet more signally than at Ephesus and Chalcedon. It is not a minority, it is the great majority, almost the totality of the Bishops, who, before adhering to the doctrine of Agatho, demands to examine, not only the citation, but the *sense* and *whole contents* of the Apostolic letter. Could the intention of not accepting a decision without cognizance of the case be possibly expressed more precisely than did the Patriarch George? The Episcopal examination might last three weeks, and the difference of the results of this examination is a new proof of its freedom. The result of the examination of George and his Bishops was the acceptance of the letter of Agatho. The result of the examination of Macarius was its rejection. It will never be shown that the examinations of both Patriarchs were not of the same nature, equally free. They differed only

[1] Conc. Const. iii. Conc. vii. 767. Col.

[2] Ib. 787.

in their consequences. Although belonging to the Monothelite party before the Council, George, inspired by the love of truth alone, recognized his error. Macarius, the most obstinate of men, persisted in his.

"Be it remarked too, that not the letter of Agatho alone, but that of the Roman Synod, became the object of the examination of the Council. Certainly no one will say that this last letter ought to have been accepted by the Council without a free examination. Well, then, it is indisputable that the Council, in regard to the examination, made no difference between the two letters.

"Certainly, if the examination of the Pontifical letter had, as a respectable school would have it, been purely confirmatory, the Council, instead of suspending its adhesion for three weeks, would have begun by an act of submission to Pontifical authority, under condition, if you will, of confirming its adhesion subsequently by a learned discussion. Nothing of the kind; the acceptance and submission were the fruit of the examination, and did not precede it. This fact, patent by the Acts of the Council, is expressly confirmed by the Emperor in the letter which he wrote to Pope Leo II., to announce to him the conclusion of this grave matter." "[3] After the words of the Gospels and Apostles had been weighed, and what had been defined by holy universal Councils had been compared with it [the Epistle], and the testimonies adduced in it had, moreover, been compared with the books of the fathers, nothing was found not consonant therewith, and the character of a true confession was found in it, wholly unchanged."

In the VIIth General Council the practice of the IVth was continued, that letters of the Pope were read, and formally approved as being consonant to Holy Scripture and the inherited faith. Bossuet says,—

"[4] When Adrian I. had, according to the custom of former

[3] Sacra Constant. ad Leon. Conc. vii. 1137.

[4] Def. vii. 30.

Pontiffs, expounded in letters to the Seventh Synod the true doctrine of the relative cultus of images of Christ and of the saints, the fathers also, after the custom of their forefathers, examined those letters synodically. For, when two letters of the holy Pontiff had been read, the one to the Emperor, the other to Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople[5], the Legates of the Apostolic See inquired, 'Let the most holy Patriarch, Tarasius, Bishop of Constantinople, say, whether he agrees with the letters of the most holy Pope of elder Rome?' Tarasius, thus asked, professes that he does agree: '[6]For we too have searched, examining the Scriptures, and taught by the doctrine of the Fathers[7], and proving by deduction; so, what we have confessed, we do and will confess: we agree and confirm the force of the Epistles read.'

"It is clear, then, that the Epistles of Adrian were approved by Tarasius in such wise, that he himself, weighing the matter, felt and, after inquisition, understood 'that they were in conformity with the Scriptures, tradition, and that faith which he had received of old.' After which words of Tarasius the sacred Synod said, 'The whole most sacred Synod so believes, so thinks, so dogmatizes.' By which words the whole Synod declares that it consents to Adrian, the author of the Epistles, and to Tarasius, who, after understanding and weighing the grounds, approved them. And, to make this clearer, the Synod was asked by the Apostolic legates in this form; '[8]Let the holy Synod tell us whether it admits the Epistles of the most holy Pope of elder Rome or no.' An inquiry which neither right reason nor faith allows as to a matter on which an irrefragable judgment has been passed. To this question the sacred Synod said, 'We follow, and receive, and admit.'

"Whence, after the matter had been weighed with the

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[5] Epist. Adr. I. ad Imp. et ad Taras. Conc. vii. act. ii. Conc. vii. 99, sq. 122, sq.

[6] Ib. col. 127.

[7] Boss. notices that this clause is in the old version, as well as in the Greek.

[8] Conc. vii. act. vii. defin. col. 130.

deepest attention, a Synodal definition is made, resting on the consent and authority, not of the one Roman Pontiff, but of the whole Catholic Church." They say, "[9] Christ, having espoused unto Himself His holy Catholic Church, not having spot or wrinkle, promised that He would preserve her, saying, 'I am with you always.' But this promise He gave, not to them only, but to us also, who through them have believed in His Name." "[1] This promise they lay as a foundation, not the definition of the Roman Pontiff, however venerable, about which they deliberate. Wherefore they subjoin immediately, 'Wherefore the Lord our God hath of His goodness called together from all sides us, the chiefs of the priesthood, that the deific tradition of His Catholic Church may receive firmness by a common decree;' which words show clearly that the force of ecclesiastical judgments lay in that consent. '[2] We add nothing, we take away nothing' (viz. from the common and universal tradition), 'but keep unmutilated all which belongs to the Catholic Church.'" "[3] Having laid down this, they conclude thus: 'This being so, keeping to the track of the royal road and following the authority of our divinely-inspired Fathers, and the tradition of the Catholic Church, which we know to be that of the Holy Spirit which indwelleth her, we define in all certainty and diligence,' &c. Whence it appears that that supreme and indisputable certainty lies in the consent of the Catholic Church; yea, in the authority of the Holy Spirit, Who teacheth the universal Church."

The subsequent history brings out the fact which lay in the previous examination of documents approved by or emanating from the Pope, that not only was the personal infallibility of the Pope no matter of belief, but also that that other theory was not held, that infallibility lay in the united

[9] Conc. vii. act. vii. defin. col. 551.
[1] Boss. diss. præv. n. 62.
[2] Ib. 554.
[3] Boss. vii. 30.

voice of a Pope and a particular Council. For those letters of the Pope which were so examined, had already been accepted by Roman Councils. The Westerns were probably misinformed as to the meaning of the Second Council of Nice, and so resisted its decree, as holding it to contradict the second commandment. But, in matter of form, both the Council of Frankfort and the writers of the Caroline books claimed, as Sismundi says, that they were opposed, not to an Œcumenical Council, but "to a Council which still lacked the adherence of so many provinces, and almost of the whole West[4]." The fact that the Pope had been the author of the letters which the Council accepted, and had accepted the Council itself, did not hinder the French Bishops from considering it as an open question, or, with the leave of Eugenius II., sending him "collections from the books of the holy Fathers to aid him in answering the inquiries of the Greeks[5]."

The VIIIth General Council, as the Westerns count it, was on no matter of faith; but still the same forms were preserved.

Bossuet sums up the result of his examination of the eight first Councils thus:—

"[6] We have seen this tradition deduced from the Apostles

[4] Sismund. adn. ad can. ii. Conc. Francof. Conc. vii. 1055, in Boss. vii. 31.

[5] Boss. from the Common. Lud. Pii. Conc. vii. 1548, 1549.

[6] Ib. vii. 33.

to the eight first General Councils. Which eight General Councils are the foundations of the whole Christian doctrine and discipline; the four first of which the Catholic Church, after S. Gregory[7], venerates no otherwise than the four Gospels. Nor is less observance shown to the rest, since, acted upon by the same Spirit, they have the same authority. Which eight Councils, with a great and unanimous consent, placed the irrefragable force of defining in nothing else than the consent of the fathers. The six last [rather iii.—vii.] subjected to a legitimate examination the promulged judgment of the Roman Pontiff even as to faith, with the approbation of the Apostolic See, the question being put thus, 'Are these decrees right or no?' as we read in the Acts.

"Let Stapleton then, and the authors quoted in the treatise, 'The Doctrine of Louvain,' and the anonymous author on the Gallican liberties[8] who follows them, hold their peace, who pronounce thus against the truth of the Acts: 'In all those Councils, the fore-judged sentence of the Roman Pontiff was held to be the norm and rule of faith;' and, which is the same, 'that a dogmatic Epistle of the Apostolic See to the Synod held the place of a full and unquestionable tradition;' whereby alone they attest that they never read thoroughly with attention or sound judgment the Acts of the Synods, since these contain a legitimate consideration and examination of dogmatic Epistles.

"We have never seen the judgments of a General Council so reconsidered, but all at once readily obeyed; nor after that examination was any new inquiry allowed to any one, but punishment was inflicted. So Constantine; so Marcian; so Celestine; so Leo; so all the rest, whom we have seen in the Acts. The Christian world acknowledged all this as certain and unshaken.

"Add that saying of S. Gelasius, an excellent Pontiff, '[9] A good and Christian Synod, once passed, cannot and ought not to be discredited by any reiteration of a new Synod.' And

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[7] Greg. M. Epp. i. 25 (Opp. ii. 515), and iii. 10. Ib. 632, &c.

[8] See Doct. Lov. and Tract. de Libert. &c., vii. 4 and 5.

[9] Gelas. Ep. 13. ad Episc. Dard. Conc. iv. 1204, 1205.

again, 'There is no ground why a good Synod should be re-considered by another Synod, lest the re-considering itself should detract from the firmness of its enactments.' Those things, then, which are settled by the ultimate and certain judgment of the Church stand irrefragable. For the judgment of the Holy Spirit is discredited, whensoever it is reconsidered by a new judgment. But a judgment propounded by a Roman Pontiff is of such sort, that it was reconsidered by a new judgment. It was not then that last and ultimate judgment of the Church.

"Nor is that declaration of Gregory the Great less clear, wherein he compares the four General Councils to the four Gospels, recording the reason, '[1] since they were constituted with universal consent, whoever presumes either to loose what they bind, or to bind what they loose, destroys himself, not them.'

"Now, then, our question is finished by the tradition of the ancient Councils and of the Fathers. All ought to be satisfied with this power of the Roman Pontiff, explained according to the decree of the Council of Florence from the practice of General Councils. The vast difference between the judgment of a Council and of the Pontiff is manifest, since after the judgment of a Council no question remained, but only the obedience of the subjugated understanding; but the judgment is, after examination, so approved in such wise, that, if occasion were, it could be disapproved[2]."

I have occupied your attention, my dearest friend, with these long extracts from Bossuet's memorable Defence of the Declaration of the Gallican Clergy, on different aspects of the Pontifical authority, with a view partly to the actual, partly to a possible state of things.

[1] Epp. L. i. ep. 25.

[2] Greg. M. Epp. i. 25.

Bossuet, of course, could not but have disapproved, under any circumstances, our present state of isolation from the Roman See. But if the authority of the Roman See in the time of Henry VIII. had only been that which Bossuet speaks of as the legitimate exercise of that authority—enforcing the observance of the canons, but regulated and limited by them, leaving the right of appointment to ecclesiastical offices to those in whom they were of old canonically vested, as they were secured in France by the Pragmatic Sanction—there would have been no room for the abuses which were complained of for centuries and unremedied, and which furnished an excuse, to which Henry VIII. appealed.

And now too, I believe that the recognition of the principles of Bossuet would remove the objections both of people and Clergy.

We English—whether from our Saxon character, or from our national institutions, which are its outgrowth and which have re-acted upon us, or from a right instinct as to human frailty, or from past experience, or from all mingled together—have a great dread of irresponsible power. We have never known of the Papacy as any other; our historians relate how, during centuries, our forefathers groaned under the pecuniary exactions of the Court of Rome, and the intrusion of foreign Bishops, who understood not the language of their flocks, and did not know their sheep. Or at a

later time, fruitless as it was, we remember the deposition of two sovereigns, the freeing of their subjects from their allegiance, and the giving away of England to a foreign invader, if any had been found willing to accept the gift which the Pope bestowed so freely. The hereditary oath, very gratuitously required of *us* who have no temptation to hold what is disavowed, as to the power of the Pope, direct or indirect, over the realms whose Sovereigns he excommunicates, has impressed this on successive generations of Englishmen.

This, which we remember in history, is still a living system among you. In your communion too, as in our own, that saying seems to have its fulfilment, "Two nations are in thy womb;" and which shall have the ascendancy, and expel or absorb the other, none knows save He in Whose hands are the hearts of His creatures.

Mgr. Maret, in his recent work, states the two opposite systems of the Italian and Gallican schools; and this, although belonging himself to the Gallican school, he does with great reverence and tenderness for the authority of the Pope.

"A celebrated school, worthy of respect, hesitates not to recognize that the Bishops are not simple vicars of the Pope; that they are 'true princes,' possessing an authority which specially belongs to them, and, in part, of Divine origin. The theologians of this school own that the Pope could not suppress the Episcopate and govern the Church by Vicars Apostolic. They agree that the Bishops may participate in the

general government of the Church, in the measure which the Pope determines[3].

"Notwithstanding these acknowledgments and concessions, it is not less evident, that, in the system of this school, the Pope possesses a monarchy pure, indivisible, absolute, unlimited. He possesses a pure monarchy, since he sees nothing in the Church by his side or above him; an indivisible monarchy, since he knows no *necessary* sharing of his sovereignty; an absolute monarchy, since he alone makes the law, and imposes an absolute obedience to the law which he makes; an unlimited monarchy, since he is responsible to God alone for the use of his authority. In despite of all the formulæ which affirm its tempered character, the Pontifical monarchy remains then a power, which has no counterpoise but the sacred duties of Christian faith and virtue[4]."

"A pure and absolute monarchy, in which all jurisdiction is of Divine right, derived from the Pope alone;" "absolute, separate, personal infallibility;" "absolute superiority even over general Councils;" "absolute authority over canons" or ecclesiastical law; "absolute personal irresponsibility" except to the judgment-seat of Christ; "absolute personal infallibility"—these are, in barest language, the claims of the Italian School for the Pope[5].

"'The one single source of the jurisdiction of Bishops and of their power of government, whether without or within the Councils, the Pope, to the extreme school, becomes the absolute master of Episcopal jurisdiction. For he, the only true

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[3] "Du Concile général et de la Paix religieuse," i. 130, 131.

[4] The Italian School and Bellarmine.

[5] Stated and answered by Bishop Maret, l. iv.

[6] Ib. T. ii. p. 10.

legislator, remains ever superior to the disciplinary laws which he makes; he may, without being bound by any legal prescription, but consulting his conscience only—which sometimes comes to acting according to his sole pleasure—give or refuse canonical institution, extend or limit Episcopal authority, modify the extent of dioceses, create new bishoprics, transfer, judge, suspend, depose Bishops, *even causelessly*. In a word, he can do every thing to the Episcopate, if not *rightly* yet *validly*, except decree its complete abolition. All these consequences are accepted and proved, in their manner, by the extreme theologians[7]."

Mgr. Maret speaks only of the unlimited extent of the power ascribed to the Pope. Ferraris, in a book whose nature excludes declamation, and so whose words are to be taken strictly, a digest or summary of Pontifical law, follows the older Canonists, the great upholders of Pontifical power, in describing, in startling terms, the ground of that unlimited authority.

"[8] The Pope is of such dignity and exaltedness that he is not simple man, but, as it were, God and Vicar of Christ. The Pope, for the excellence of his supreme dignity, is called Bishop of Bishops; also Bishop of the universal Church; also Bishop or Diocesan of the whole world; also Divine Monarch and Supreme Emperor and King of kings. Yea, the excellence and power of the Roman Pontiff is not simply about things in heaven and earth and under the earth, but even above angels, of whom he is greater. So that, if it were possible that angels should err in faith or be minded against the faith, they could be judged or excommunicated by the Pope. Whatsoever the

[7] "All these theses may be seen in the treatise 'De Episcopo' of the Abbé Bouix." Paris, 1859. "Mgr. Maret."

[8] Ferraris Biblioth. Jurid. v. Papa.

Pope doth, seemeth to proceed out of the mouth of God. The Pope is, as it were, God upon earth, the one Prince of Christ's faithful people, the supreme King of all kings, containing the plenitude of power, to whom is entrusted by Almighty God the governance both of the earthly and heavenly empire."

The idea of the hypothetical excommunication of Angels has, indeed, been censured by an editor, as an absurd hyperbole; the doctrine would, if taken literally, contradict the faith. But such imaginations illustrate the character of the theory from which they proceed.

Even this passage, in some respects, does not reach the force of the article in the Civiltà, some of which, apart from the context, might be thought to relate to God the Holy Ghost.

"[9] It is not enough that the people should know that he [the Pope] is the head of the Church and of the Bishops; he ought to understand that from him proceeds his own faith, from him his own religious life; in him resides the band which unites Catholics together, the force which consolidates them, the guide which directs them: that he is the dispenser of spiritual graces; he, the promoter of the benefits which religion imparts; he, the conservator of righteousness; he, the protector of the oppressed."

Again,—

"[1] The treasures of this revelation, the treasures of truth, the treasures of righteousness, the treasures of spiritual graces, have been by God deposited on earth in the hands of a man who is the sole dispenser and guardian—this man is the Pope. This

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[9] Civiltà, 1867, T. xii. p. 86; quoted in the original in Der Papst u. das Concil, p. 41.

[1] Ib. 1868, T. iii. p. 259; quoted ib. p. 43.

is evidently included in his title of Vicar of Christ. Since he sustains in earth the place of Christ, this means that he continues in the world the work of Christ, and, in respect of us, is that which Christ would be, if by Himself and visibly He governed the Church."

We, then, are not surprised to hear such voices as that of a pious Spanish nobleman, writing in Germany and German,—

"[2] As Savigny denied to the deeply disordered time any call to secular legislation, we must do the same in the province of the Church, and that, in reference to that so exceeding sickly condition of the Church, such as the holy Pope Gregory the Great described: '[3] Since in those days the Church, weakened by a sort of old age, could no longer bear sons through preaching, she remembers her ancient fruitfulness.'

"For what a diametrically opposite conception of the Church prevails. According to it, the Pope is absolute monarch; of course, vice-monarch (yet so that often mention is scarce made of the true Monarch), and the other Bishops, or rather the Bishops, are his vicars, his delegates, a sort of prefects of this monarch, whom *he* has set over the provinces of his kingdom. They receive his *commands* (so they are called unreservedly and without any remaining shame, both there whence they are issued and there where they are received, however little this fits with the well-known words of our Lord[4] and of the holy Apostle Peter[5], and with the whole history of the Church); and those Bishops who receive such *commands*, act unreservedly according to them, or, if they make any reserves, they are coerced in every conceivable way;

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[2] Die Kirche Gottes und die Bischöfe, von H. St. A. von Liaño, pp. 39—41.

[3] Moral. in Job xxix.; c. 12. L. xix. Opp. i. 613.

[4] "Luke xxii. 25—27, and in many other places."

[5] 1 Pet. v. 1—4.

yea, the ideal aimed at is, that in such case they can be, without more ado, deposed, or *de facto* replaced by a so-called coadjutor, who should leave them the name only of that exalted office, to which the Holy Ghost called and appointed them; and those Bishops in their turn can, and do in fact, act in like way with the Priests of the second order, who are associated with the Bishops in the unspeakably great office of representing the Lord, and with the Deacons and inferior Clergy; except when a Priest should be maintained against his Bishop, if the Bishop should not obey unconditionally and blindly enough, and, as a warning example, shall triumph over him."

The bold and powerful writers of Catholic Germany, commenting on the passage which I have given from the Civiltà, say,—

"[6] From this it needs but one step to declare the Pope himself to be an Incarnation of God.

"Ultramontanism is accordingly essentially Papalism. Its first principle is, that the Pope in all instructive decisions, not only on questions of faith, but also in the province of morals, as to the relations of religion to society, of the Church to the State, nay, as to State institutions also, is infallible, that every decision of that sort demands, on the part of all Catholics, unconditional, unreserved submission and reception. So then the power of the Pope over the Church is to him purely monarchical, which owns and tolerates no limitation. The Pope is to be an absolute and sole Ruler: all beside him are only his empowered servants; really, directly or indirectly, only the executors of his directions, whose power he can, at pleasure, limit or withdraw. The condition of the Church is, according to Ultramontane view, the more normal and healthy, as, in all its parts and national subdivisions, it is, to the minutest point, ruled, administered, supervised, and regulated by Rome. Rome is to subsist and operate as a gigantic machine of ecclesiastical government, a hundred-armed Briareus,

[6] Der Papst, &c., pp. 43—48.

which decides every thing in the last instance, every where presses in with reproaches, censures, and manifold means of repression, and provides for entire uniformity. For the ecclesiastical ideal of the Ultramontanes is the Romanizing of all particular Churches, and the utmost possible suppression of every thing special in the life of national Churches. Nay they contemplate it as an aim and duty of conscience for all nations as much as possible to conform their life to the specific way of thinking and feeling of the Italian Clergy. And this must be right, since the Civiltà announces straight out, '[7] As formerly the Jews were the people of God, so in the new Covenant is the Roman. It has a supernatural dignity.'

"The Ultramontane accordingly knows nothing higher than Roman usage and Roman ordinance. For him Rome is an Ecclesiastical Inquiry and Address Office, or rather a standing Oracle—the Civiltà calls him summum Oraculum—which has at hand an infallible solution for every doubt, for every scientific or practical misgiving. Where others, in judging of events or of facts, let themselves be guided by their moral and religious consciousness, as developed in their Church-life,

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[7] T. iii. p. 11, T. i. p. 862. "The end for which God preserves the Roman State being supernatural, supernatural in some measure is evidently the dignity of that people." "These panegyrics of the so-called Roman people, which properly does not exist (for it is only an ever-fluctuating multitude of Italians, and specially of Italian Clergy from all parts of the peninsula), appear however to be standing phrases, inherited from of old. So, e. g., as early as 1626, the Provost and Professor at Padua, Carrerio, expresses himself: 'The Italians may exalt themselves above all nations on account of the distinguished mercy which God showed them, in that in the Pope He gave them a spiritual monarch, who has cast down from their thrones great kings and yet mightier Emperors, and set others in their place; to whom the mightiest realms this long time pay tribute, the like of which was never seen elsewhere, and who distributes among his courtiers wealth so great, as no king, no Emperor ever had to bestow.'" Der Papst, p. 44, note.

with the Ultramontanes Roman authority, and the normal pattern of morals and practice there, take the place of ecclesiastical and moral law. If at Rome a Jewish pair is violently robbed of their son to be educated as a Christian, the Ultramontane holds this quite in order, that the natural rights of man should yield to Roman ordinances, however late-devised; although else theologians maintain, that natural right is also Divine right, and so stands higher than mere human Church-ordinance. If now-a-days the Inquisition in the States of the Church proclaims excommunication to every son and daughter, if they neglect to denounce and deliver up to prison their parents who ate flesh or food with milk on a fast-day, or read a forbidden book, the Romanist knows how to justify this. If the Roman Government, through the lottery openly managed by the priests, promotes the passion of gaming and the ruin of whole families, the Civiltà forthwith writes an apology for the lottery, although Alexander VII. and Benedict XIII. forbad it, under pain of excommunication. If in Rome the Clergy (the so-called *preti di piazza*) stand in public places, waiting till some one hire them for a Mass, this, in the eyes of the Romanist, is as little offensive as the sale of indulgence-billets, which the guides at Rome, having made him acquainted with all the sights and enjoyments of the place, end by pointing out to the stranger. At least too he finds it very excusable that the system of dispensations and indulgences is there used, to make the utmost possible gain, as a source of finance; that, e. g., 'Altar-privileges' are sold to Churches at a scudo a-piece, and so the grossest superstition in regard to the deliverance of souls from Purgatory is produced; that for high payments certain marriage-dispensations are granted to the rich, which are refused to the ill-endowed; that not long ago in a German State it was attempted, against the clear literal meaning of treaties, to draw a class of matrimonial causes to Rome, and thereby to compel the citizens to expensive processes at a great distance; which fresh invasion seemed even to the Bishops there to be too strong, so that they addressed earnest representations thereon to Rome, in consequence whereof the requisition was given up for a while, and the question was left undetermined.

"Rome, on its side, omits nothing to confirm the whole Catholic world in this clerico-Italian way of thinking and feeling. More than nine-tenths of the congregations and courts of law of the Roman Curia are composed of Italians, who administer them under their tutelage by the prescriptions and decisions, spun out into the minutest and pettiest details, issued in the name of the Pope. Every breath of religion is to be drawn according to rule specially Italian. Bishoprics out of Italy are, if possible, to be filled with men whose Catholicism has been gained in Rome, or, at least, has been formed by the Jesuits and their pupils.

"The more questions a country or a diocese directs to Rome, the more abundantly dispensations, indulgences, altar-privileges, consecrated objects, &c., are drawn from Rome: the more money-presents are sent thither, the more are they praised for their piety and their genuine Catholic mind. What is called Catholicity is, in the eyes of the Curia, only to be attained thereby, that, in every thing connected with religion, he should translate himself and his ideas into Italian. If, then, the German, Frenchman, Englishman—in cases where the Italian form, or view, or practice, or devotion, is at variance with his national feeling, or tries to displace that which is native and suits him better—would repel the foreign form, he is thereby at once on a wrong road, is no longer a 'genuine Catholic,' but only a 'liberal Catholic;' for so does the Society of Jesus designate the difference which we express by 'Ultramontane' or simply 'Catholic.'"

On the other hand, the Gallican tradition is not broken. The State, indeed, betrayed the confidence which the Church reposed in it, and the secular aspect of Gallicanism has disappeared. But the tradition which Bossuet defended was, as you know, after the return from nineteen years of exile, maintained in 1821 by the "learned and pious[8]"

[8] "M. de la Luzerne, Bishop of Langres, was one of the

Cardinal de la Luzerne [9]: it has recently been maintained by Mgr. Maret. But it is now apparently scarcely tolerated among you.

"The doctrine which we present in this work," says Mgr. Maret [1], "thanks be to God, is not personal to ourselves. We believe firmly that it is that of the ancient, universal, true, tradition of the Church. This doctrine, taught by so many great saints and great men of all ages and nations, has been

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most learned and formidable adversaries of the schism brought about by the 'Civil Constitution' of the Clergy. He passed nineteen years in exile. This long period was occupied in study and the exercise of the most exalted charity. Created Cardinal in 1817, he published his work in 1821. The mortal remains of the pious and learned Cardinal repose, &c." Mgr. Maret, "Du Concile," &c., ii. 223, note 1.

[9] "Sur la Déclaration de l'Assemblée du Clergé de France en 1682, par le Cardinal de la Luzerne, ancien Évêque de Langres." The brief preface of the Cardinal in 1821 was, "This work had been written eight or ten years ago, during the emigration; my object had been to answer Card. Orsi, who had undertaken to refute Bossuet. On my return to France, in 1821, I had thought that its publication was useless, and that, under existing circumstances, it was good that the question of Gallican principles against the maxims of the Roman Court should not be agitated. In consequence, I abstained from printing the work; but Ultramontane ideas having been maintained and published by very estimable authors, whose talent and virtue I honour, I think it indispensable to publish it as an answer to their maxims, and to maintain among us the precious and salutary doctrine of the Gallican Church." Bossuet's work seemed to me so exhaustive, that I do not remember finding any thing new in that of the Cardinal de la Luzerne, except that which was his object in writing it, the refutation of Card. Orsi.

[1] l. c. Préf. i. xxiv—xxvi.

specially preserved in France, where, in the last ages, the rival theological schools were formed. From the bosom of one of the schools the accusation of 'Gallicanism' will certainly arise against this book. We must here make the completest and most open explanation.

"For some years, and especially in these last times, a violent clamour against Gallicanism has arisen from the religious press. Insult and outrage have been cast against the past of our Church, against the wisdom of our fathers, the glory of our greatest doctors, of our confessors and martyrs. All this violence redoubles at the approach of the opening of the holy Council. Men have dared to write and to say that 'Gallicanism is *a heresy*, Bossuet is a heresiarch.' It has been thought a token of ability, to detach the French Clergy from all integrity with its predecessors, its fathers and masters. Gallicanism, they allege, has only been a passing and unhappy incident in the history of our Church. The more learned make it go back to Gerson and Peter d'Ailly. Without root in the past, without adhesion in the present, Gallicanism has been nothing but an aberration, which must be stricken with the anathemas of the Church. Men venture to say that the declaration of 1682 legitimates and necessitates the new definition of Pontifical infallibility which they ask of the Council. And thus, in a spirit of justice and of peace, and for the greater edification of the world, they would turn the future Council against France, its Church, its past.

"In presence of these travesties of truth and of history, of these odious accusations and sinister menaces, we should deem ourselves wanting to all our duties of filial piety, or of a French Bishop, if we gave not utterance to the protestation of an indignant conscience. Who can find it amiss that, out of the bosom of the faculty of Theology at Paris, of that our old Sorbonne, a voice should arise to defend our Church?

"Yes, theological Gallicanism, the Gallicanism of the French Episcopate, contains a basis of eternal and necessary truth. Without identifying ourselves with all the doctrines which have received that name, or with any assembly or any declaration, and professing all the respect due to the decisions and

bulls of Sixtus IV.[2], Alexander VIII.[3], Clement XI.[4], and Pius VI.[5], we adhere to the doctrines which appear to us true, and which never have been nor could be censured, the doctrines which affirm the character of Pontifical monarchy effectually tempered by Episcopal aristocracy; the complexity of the elements which compose the spiritual sovereignty and doctrinal infallibility, the necessity of the concurrence of these two elements to establish the absolute rule of faith."

To us the title "monarch" is itself startling: to the Ultramontanes it seems inadequate without the addition "absolute," "irresponsible," "sole," "infallible." It is melancholy that the assailants of Gallicanism should think it necessary to asperse the memory of the great man to whom, both in his own day and till now, the Church has been so much indebted[6]. The maxim that "[7] Ultramontanism is precisely Catholic Christianity" is, it seems, to be taken in its most rigid exactness; and

[2] Condemnation of Peter d'Osme.

[3] Bull *Inter multiplices.* [4] Bull *Vineam Domini.*

[5] Bull *Auctorem fidei.*

[6] "M. l'Abbé Réaume, who professes to be a disciple of M. l'Abbé Bouix, has recently published a life of Bossuet. It is to be regretted, not for Bossuet, but for his historian, that the Canon of Meaux was unable better to understand or to interpret the genius of that great man" (Mgr. Maret, ii. 344). "Our great Bossuet, the most devoted defender, the most determined champion of the certain rights and legitimate privileges of the Holy See—Bossuet himself is not spared! Neither his immortal genius nor his immense love for the Church have enabled him to find grace before the cruel severities of Mgr. Manning" ("L'ultra-Catholicisme en Angleterre," par M. l'Abbé A. de Saint Pol, p. 4).

[7] Quoted by the Abbé de S. Pol, p. 15, from Archbishop Manning's Pastoral on the Centenary, p. 55.

we are told that "the right to absolve those who maintain the Gallican doctrine has been gravely questioned[8]." It is consistent.

"If," says M. l'Abbé de S. Pol[9], or whoever (if it be so) shields himself under that name from personal controversy—"If Ultramontanism and Catholicism are one and the same doctrine, one and the same institution, it follows, whoever is not Ultramontane is not Catholic. But, then, what place is to be assigned to all those theologians, all those doctors and fathers of the Church, all those Bishops, all those Cardinals, nay, even all those Popes, who, very far from being Ultramontanes, were altogether and precisely the contrary? Would men venture to make them to have been schismatics and heretics? Assuredly they will not go to this extremity. And yet, in this system, there is no mean; ULTRAMONTANE OR OUT OF THE CHURCH. If this axiom is true, the monstrous consequence must be accepted: all these great men and all these saints must be regarded as the enemies of God, of Jesus Christ and His Church, and anathematized. Men will not dare."

I have, in this long discussion, used, as far as I could, the words of Bossuet, in memory of his long and persevering labours to restore union to Western Christendom, and because it seems to be certain that he had the highest authority to bear out the terms which he suggested. Had I, when I began it, foreseen or known the prevailing attitude of

[8] Ib. p. 20. Archbishop Manning's words are:—"It has been a question, whether they who defend the four Articles, after the repeated Pontificals and condemnations, are capable of Sacramental Absolution."

[9] Ib. p. 16.

minds towards us, I should perhaps not have had the heart to do it. And yet, come of it what may, it is something to have removed some stumbling-blocks in the way of a healthful reunion hereafter. I think that the acceptance of propositions founded on Bossuet's statements, accompanied with the declaration of what we pass over as not being "de fide," and also of what we actually reject as erroneous (if your theologians also should think it to be so), would be an immense advance towards such reunion, and would dispose minds far and wide towards it.

On the other hand, I can hardly imagine any thing more fatal to it, than the declaration of Papal Infallibility. Even writers of yours speak of it as "changing the constitution of the Church. But in changing the constitution, you are obliged to change also the doctrine; and it will be necessary hereafter to chant in the holy sacrifice, *Credo Papam*, instead of *Credo Ecclesiam*[1]."

"[2] If the new definition which a school more ardent than wise calls for, were possible; if it were carried, it would necessarily result that the Church would become, *de jure* as well as *de facto*, a monarchy, pure, indivisible, absolute.

"This transformation would be an essential revolution in the constitution of the Church. For an aristocratic monarchy, a monarchy essentially tempered with aristocracy, a monarchy essentially deliberative, is an institution entirely different from a monarchy pure, indivisible, absolute, consultative. They could not be identified or confounded without wounding reason or wronging common sense.

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[1] Mgr. Maret, ii. 375.

[2] Ib. 371.

"Were this revolution effected, then the constitution of the Church would cease to be what it has been *de jure* during nearly nineteen centuries; it would change its nature radically, essentially.

"But what is truly divine is immovable. If the constitution of the Church be divine, it cannot change. If it changes, it ceases to be divine. Doubtless, the constitution of the Church, as well as dogmas, may develope. But, like dogma, it cannot change. In the words of his Holiness Pius IX. on an ever-memorable occasion, development of doctrine must ever be made from the same to the same, *crescat in eodem sensu, in eadem sententia*[3].

"These words apply to Divine institutions as well as to doctrine. But in this case the development would be *in alio sensu, in alia sententia.* This development is then impossible; it is contrary to the inmost constitution of Christianity. It would be the denial of its divinity.

"Were it possible, were it effected, what a triumph for all the enemies of Christianity and of the Church! Those enemies would raise against Catholicism the protestation of ages and of history, they would overwhelm it under a mass of accusing testimonies; they would bring Scripture, the Fathers, and the Councils, to appear as witnesses against it. God will certainly spare the world and the faith of the faithful this extreme trial.

"[4] It is a matter of principle that a new dogmatic definition ought to be necessary and brought about by imperative grounds, the defence of the faith, the good of souls.

"In these days, it is not only the authority of the Church and its head which are disputed, denied. The negations are radical, but in another way. They bear on the first and most necessary truths, which a false science audaciously attacks; the very notion of God; the Divinity of Jesus Christ; the whole supernatural order. These are chiefly the dangers of the faith and of souls. To bring back souls to the feet of the Saviour, is the sure way to make them confess the authority of His

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[3] Bull, Ineffabilis Deus.

[4] Ib. § 9, p. 380.

Vicar. The first, most pressing, need of souls who doubt or deny, is not then a new definition of the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff. This definition, on the contrary, by the unlimited increase of power which it would ascribe to the Pope, would become a new and perhaps invincible obstacle to the return of souls which are under the influence of anti-Christian science.

"[5] Without real benefit to those who believe, full of stumbling-blocks to those who doubt, the new definition would attest to the world, that, up to 1870, the Catholic Church did not exactly know in whom resides the sovereign authority which is to govern her.

"After 18 centuries, 20 General Councils, 258 Popes, we should have to own to the world that we do not yet know with an entire certainty, whether the Church is a monarchy, pure, indivisible, absolute, or composite and tempered! We should have to own that we are still ignorant, whether the Bishops are purely and simply the subjects of the Pope, or whether they participate, under his authority, in the spiritual sovereignty! We should have to confess, lastly, that the sure and certain conditions of infallibility are still unknown to us!

"The men of authority, they who maintain in the world respect and trust in it, would be obliged to confess publicly, that they have not known completely to this day, the authority invested with the supreme and irrefragable right to command them.

"What a spectacle we should offer to the world, to the men of science, politicians! Should we not become their fable, and while we wished to elevate above measure the authority of the sovereign Pontiff, should we not compromise the sacred cause of authority itself?

"There are other inconveniences. We have shown that the new definition would transform the constitution of the Church, and would make the ecclesiastical rule the most rigorous, most absolute, most unlimited monarchy, which ever existed.

"Now, saving the case, happily very rare, when a dictator-

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[5] Ib. p. 381.

ship becomes necessary, monarchy pure and absolute, as an ordinary and lasting system of government, is an institution full of miseries and perils, and ought to be regarded as one of the most faulty forms of government. Yet Bellarmine himself teaches, that the government of the Church, being of Divine origin, ought to be the best of governments; and he hesitates not to make this superiority of ecclesiastical regimen to consist in a sort of admixture of the three forms of government, monarchy, aristocracy, democracy. True, that, in developing his system, he entirely sacrifices the two last elements to the first. But, despite of these inconsistencies, his principle, that the ecclesiastical government ought to be the best of governments, subsists; and this principle destroys his system. Never will reason and conscience admit (and at this day doubtless less than ever), that pure and absolute monarchy, as an ordinary system of government, is the best of all. To maintain this desperate thesis, one must entirely ignore the instructions of history and experience. Let it not be said, that it is an imitation of the Divine Monarchy. Does humanity admit of this absolute participation in the Divine attributes?

"Without approving all the political theories produced in modern times, without amnestying in any way all the revolutions which have been made, it may be affirmed that, in the society issued from the Gospel, there is not a tendency more imperative, more durable, or more invincible than that which would prescribe bounds to power, which seeks for counterpoises and counterforts to power. In the midst of this Christian society, so deeply troubled by this need of regulating power, is the Apostolic See to proclaim as a new dogma of faith, that God has established in His Church a monarchy, pure, absolute, indivisible, because it is the best of governments? What gain would there be to faith in placing itself in opposition so direct with the surest results of experience and reason?

"And this opposition, would it not become a new leaven of mistrust and hatred against the Church? What politician, what statesman, what sovereign, would behold without alarm at the head of the Catholic Church a power which should, in the inmost constitution of that Church, find no limit, no really

efficacious barrier against the abuses, the excesses, the errors which human nature cannot always avoid? The divine promises made to the Church and to its head cannot here be pleaded; for the question is, what are the true conditions of the realization of those promises? If the Divine Master did not will to make His Church a Monarchy pure and absolute, has one a right to plead the Divine promises in favour of that institution? In vain too should we say with Joseph de Maistre[6], that, in the nature of things, *every thing* would serve to limit the absolute power of the Pope; for what absolute power is there which this 'nature of things' has preserved from the gravest faults?

"What satisfactory explanation, what serious guarantee could be offered to the powers of this world, who should choose to see in the Pontifical power, such as these would make it, a rival or rather a master—a formidable master, capable of carrying trouble into States as well as into consciences?

"To avoid these misunderstandings, an attempt would doubtless be made to restrain Papal infallibility within the most narrow limits. But would not the opinion of the masses extend it to every thing? In the prestige of the Pope, infallible, singly and alone, the man would disappear. All the words of the Pontiff would be oracles for the main body of Catholics; all his wills would be laws. Would not these new perils occasion the aggravation of all the laws which restrict the liberty of the Church? Would not the most difficult complications, the greatest misfortunes, occur at the end of this perilous journey? One may, at least, fear that the abolition of Concordats, and a violent separation of Church and State, would be a prompt result of the new *régime*.

"Yes, if the designs of extreme spirits could succeed, if the new dogma, which they long for, could be proclaimed, the whole Church would be in the Pope, as the State is in the absolute monarch. What good could result from this transformation? The Pope is mostly an aged man, as venerable from his years as from his virtues. Human passions have doubtless little empire

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[6] "Du Pape," i. 8.

over his soul. Still he is man: and if his brethren, the Bishops, owed him an absolute and blind obedience; if they never had the right or duty to counsel, warn, or act, under the like circumstances, as the Vth General Council did in regard to Pope Vigilius; the VIth., VIIth., VIIIth., in regard to Pope Honorius—if the Pope needed none but himself to govern the Church of God—if he were bound to take counsel only as far as he should judge convenient—is it not evident that he would be exposed to the gravest temptations which could assail human weakness? And would the government of the Church be always directed with all the insight, wisdom, consistency, and firmness which the great interests at stake demand?

"In the transformation which this would bring about, the authority of Bishops would lose all, which that of the Pope would gain. The rights which the Bishops have used in and out of Councils, would become for ever inapplicable. The weakening of the authority of the Bishops, already so fatal to the Church, would then be an evil without limit and without remedy.

"Whether, then, one views the Church in its relation to public reason, to modern society and its tendencies, to governments and peoples, or whether one considers it in itself and relatively to its Divine mission and the spiritual good of the faithful, the new dogma, far from offering any advantage, would present only dangers and threatenings.

"One last consideration.

"The divisions which exist in the bosom of Christendom are one of the most active causes of its weakness and its inability to work the general transformation of the world and the perfect accomplishment of its mission.

"If idolatry still reigns over half the globe, if Mohammedanism desolates Christian countries, once flourishing, if a disguised atheism ravages the Christian world itself, one of the most powerful causes of so many moral miseries, of so many social sorrows, of so much humiliation and shame, is in that unhappy interior rending of Christianity, which constitutes schism and heresy. If the Eastern Churches were, at length, to re-unite with the mother Church; if our brethren, separated from unity by the violent revolutions of the sixteenth century,

returned at length into that unity; what new power of transformation, of conquest, and of victory would not Christianity, purified and united—Christianity reuniting in one magnificent band all the living forces, all the elements of progress of a renewed science and civilization, develope in the world! Then would come upon earth the reign of God and of His Christ.

"Whatever then could place any obstacle to this return, to the reconciliation of hearts and minds, to pacification and religious unity, ought to be regarded as the greatest of evils, since it is the obstacle to the greatest of goods.

"We fear not to say that the new definition, dangerous, useless, contrary to the true theological principles, would alienate for ever from the Church our separated brethren.

"May God vouchsafe to shed His light over His Church, and to inspire, in all, the designs most conformable to the needs of humanity!"

With these touching words of Mgr. Maret I would gladly have concluded, but that there is one topic of his which I do not remember in other discussions of this subject; I would also say a few words as to the way in which it would probably affect our English people.

The topic of Mgr. Maret is the connexion of "dogmatic infallibility and moral holiness." To abridge what he says,—

"[7] In the Italian system, infallibility, as we have seen, is attributed, not to the man, but to the Pontiff. Still, since the man cannot be separated from the Pontiff, since the Pontiff is a man, even in the most solemn exercise of his supreme charge, it necessarily results that the infallibility of the Pontiff becomes that of the man. According to that system, the man, *quâ* Pontiff, is infallible: what, then, is affirmed, is the infallibility of the man-Pontiff.

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[7] L. iv. c. 13, p. 235, sqq.

"But that a man should be infallible, i. e. that he should become partaker of one of the attributes of God, a real miracle is required.

"Let us measure the extent of the miracle necessary to elevate the individual, the man-Pontiff, to this sublime attribute of personal infallibility. The highest sanctity does not confer it; for the greatest saint may be mistaken. A very especial ordering of Divine Providence is necessary here.

"In order to be preserved from all doctrinal error in his dogmatic judgments, the Pope, at the moment when he pronounces his sentence, must be safe from all ignorance, all prejudices, all prepossession, all forgetfulness, all distraction, all precipitation, all weakness, all passion; in a word, he must be endued with philosophic impeccability.

"But this is not all. If one would examine the deepest depth of man's judgment, one cannot but recognize that moral holiness, although it does not by itself confer infallibility, is logically a condition of philosophic infallibility. The irregular passions of the heart of man, his egoism, pride, ambition, interest, all those depraved inclinations which engender sin, do they not often exercise a preponderating influence over doctrinal judgments, wherein some personal elements almost always mix themselves up?

"May one not also say that the moral purity of the supreme head of the Church is of as much moment to the spiritual good of the faithful as the exactness or orthodoxy of his doctrine? May one not say that the scandal of a bad Pope will be almost as injurious to the Church as an error in his instruction?

"So, then, the connexion between moral holiness and infallibility has been thought so natural, that from the time when we see the system of personal infallibility make its appearance, we see also that of the essential holiness of the Pope have its birth.

"This last system is mentioned, in plainest terms, in the *Dictatus* falsely attributed to Pope Gregory VII.[*], and in many writers of that age, especially Otho of Freisingen.

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[*] "That the Roman Pontiff, if he be canonically ordained, by the merits of the Bl. Peter, is indubitably rendered holy, as

"But this system could not maintain itself before the evidence of facts.

I will not quote Mgr. Maret's brief summary of those facts. They have been but too often dwelt upon among us in self-defence. He sums up,—

"[9] In the historical sketch which we have just given, we set ourselves to produce only such facts as are certain and generally owned by Catholic writers, who think themselves obliged to be silent on, dissemble or dispute the faults of Popes. Though I have confined myself within narrow limits, I have said enough to establish, that history has not only reproaches to make to 'two or three Popes,' as their systematic apologists would have it; but that it has the sorrow of proving that, in the long life of the Papacy, there have been very real periods of declension. We have seen in the Xth, XIth, XIVth, XVth, and XVIth centuries, during considerable periods, series of faults and of scandals, bearing the same character; and it is very evident that the series of Popes whose memory we have recalled did not faithfully fulfil all its duties in those unhappy times.

"The scandals which I have been obliged to specify have been deplored before me by holy Popes; my language does not approach to the energy of that which Adrian VI. employed in a celebrated letter addressed to the Emperor, Charles V.[1].

"I know all that can and ought to be said to show that these disorders did not injure the holiness of the Catholic Church. In those days of trial, the universal Church and the Roman

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S. Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia, attests, many holy Fathers favouring this, as is contained in the decrees of the Bl. Pope Symmachus." Labbé, Conc. x. 111.

[9] Ib. p. 251.

[1] "We know that in this Holy See there were some time ago many abominable things, abuses in spirituals, excesses in mandates, and, in fine, every thing perverted." Instructio Adriani VI. in Rainald. xx. 365.

Church itself included saints who, by the good savour of their virtues, corrected the deleterious effects of the evil examples issuing from that holy place, whence public edification should alone emanate. We know that the unworthiness of the minister injures not the efficacy of the holy ministry. I know well that, in several of the Popes who may be gravely reproached, great and good qualities gleamed forth in the midst of their disorders and of their faults, and that they often did acts useful to the Church, honourable to their memory. In the history of the Papacy the good superabounds: it forms its general character. But the dissonance of the evil is but the more vivid and striking. It has also been observed, that none of the bad Popes whom we have named fell into heresy, or at all favoured it. And this fact is a proof of the assistance which God grants His Church in its most evil days.

"This apology for the holy See and for the Church, under the reign of the bad Popes, is full of truth and reason. But it leaves a fact absolutely certain. This is, that moral holiness is not a gift necessarily granted to each Pope, and that there have been and may be Popes very scandalous, very blamable, very criminal. From this fact we must necessarily conclude that, on the hypothesis of personal infallibility, that infallibility is separate from holiness in the Pope. The Pope possesses, by a Divine privilege, philosophic impeccability or dogmatic infallibility, and he does not possess moral impeccability or holiness.

"Yet I think I have proved that the second impeccability is logically a condition of the first. To consult logic only, should one not say that in order to be infallible, one ought to be truly holy, i.e. free from all the passions and irregular affections which exercise so much influence over the judgment, especially in moral matters?

"It is true, and I have stated it, holiness, although it seems a condition of infallibility, does not of itself confer it. A saint is not, by sanctity alone, protected against a crowd of errors.

"To render a holy Pope personally infallible, God must work a great miracle, the extent of which I have measured. To render a sinful Pope personally infallible, He must work a much greater miracle, since this miracle will produce infalli-

bility in the bosom of sin, since this miracle will separate holiness from infallibility, i. e. will bring about an effect without the concurrence of a cause which seems natural to its evolution. This miracle is, beyond doubt, possible to God; but its effect, the separation of infallibility and holiness, it must be owned, astounds and confounds the reason. Is it not repugnant to reason and to conscience to believe and to affirm that a John XII. was infallible? or that a Benedict IX. was infallible? or that an Alexander VI. was infallible?"

The answer to the objection that "the efficacy of the Sacraments does not depend on the holiness of the ministers who confer them," Mgr. Maret answers,—

"Does the unworthy minister of the Divine Sacraments contain in himself and in his person the grace which the Sacraments confer? He has the power to complete and administer the Sacraments, and this power is independent of his moral state. But they are the Sacraments which contain and communicate the sanctification. The minister is but the instrumental cause, the principal cause is the Holy Spirit Himself, so that sanctification is never separated from the grace which produces it.

"It would not be so in the unworthy Pontiff, if his personal infallibility had to be admitted. The unworthy Pontiff would not be a simple instrument, a cause purely instrumental, of infallibility. It would reside truly in his thoughts, in his judgments, his wills. God would work on the personal faculties of the unworthy Pontiff a real miracle, to preserve him from error, while leaving the principal causes of that error in existence; and so really in him infallibility would be separated from holiness.

"God is, beyond doubt, Master of His gifts; but is such a miracle according to the analogy of the ordinary path of His supernatural Providence?

"And this prodigious miracle, which should change the individual conditions of human nature—this prodigious miracle,

which should separate what of its own nature seems inseparable —this prodigious miracle, which should make a sinner, perhaps a castaway, a partaker of one of the most glorious of the Divine attributes—would be an useless miracle; for God, in the order which He has established for His Church, gives the Pope an assured means of not being deceived in his dogmatic judgment, if he wills to make use of that means" [viz. consulting a General Council, or the whole Church].

Mgr. Maret has naturally dwelt upon the future. We English, and all, probably, not in the Roman Communion, would naturally look back also to the past. Heretofore, the Church, in decreeing any Article of Faith, had one definite question before it. In the great General Councils, the Church assembled to declare that such and such was their inherited faith; or even if the Church had to decide upon several points of doctrine, or to guard the same doctrine in many aspects, each question was tangibly before her. The doctrine of Papal infallibility is one, but it goes backwards as well as forwards. It not only lays down, that all which Popes shall hereafter declare, under certain conditions (whatever they may be), will be the voice of God, to be obeyed at the peril of the loss of the soul, but that all which in these 1800 years has been, or has been supposed to be, declared by Popes under those conditions, is already matter of faith. For the first time in the Church of Christ a whole mass of Articles of Faith would be enacted, without individual consideration of their wording, without their being precisely in terms before the

Council which enacted them; Articles, the extent or nature of which none but the most learned could have any conception of; about which even the most learned must be in doubt, whether they would become real Articles of Faith, because the most learned are at issue upon what conditions the infallibility of any declarations of the Pope depends. It would need an infallible authority to declare what Popes heretofore have infallibly declared.

But, in truth, those conditions would practically vanish. Although those conditions are employed to account for those cases in which Popes are acknowledged to have taught wrongly, they cannot be practically applied, for they would leave every thing as uncertain as before.

To use again the language of Mgr. Maret,—

"[2] Bellarmine hesitates not to affirm that the Pope, considered in this point of view ['as Pontiff, i. e. as a public person, as pastor and doctor of all Christians, and in the instruction which he addresses to the universal Church touching faith and morals'] is infallible. Yet he seems, at first sight, to annex certain conditions to this infallibility. So he would that the Pope, pronouncing his sentence in the Council, or out of the General Council, should always proceed with maturity, after a serious examination of the questions, and taking counsel of the learned persons around him. The illustrious theologian, without doubt, is very far from placing infallibility in the councillors of the Pope: it resides in him alone, he says. But he affirms at the same time that the Pope is bound to take all the human means which wisdom suggests, to inform himself and arrive at the truth.

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[2] L. iv. c. 4, T. ii. p. 66.

"If he neglected these means, and did not bring into his supreme decisions the knowledge, wisdom, and prudence which they require, Bellarmine owns that he would be liable to error. Yet, since this conditional infallibility might be disputed and easily disappear, he adds that '[3] It is impossible that a Pope should make a definition rashly; for God, Who has willed the end, wills also the means necessary to the end.'

"'It would[4],' says Bellarmine, 'be of little use to know that the Pontiff would not err when he does not define rashly, unless we also knew that the Providence of God will never permit that he should make rash definitions.' Observe, before going further, that Bellarmine puts in the thesis the point at issue, and falls into a real '*petitio principii.*' The question is, whether God has really willed to grant to the Sovereign Pontiff infallibility, absolute and separate; to presuppose this will in God, is not to resolve the question.

"Through this supposition, the conditions which Bellarmine seeks at first to annex to Pontifical infallibility disappear for the Christian public, Bishops as well as people. No one has a right to ascertain whether these conditions have been observed; no one has a right to raise the slightest doubt about it. The conditional infallibility of the Pope becomes really and practically *absolute* infallibility. It is equal in all points to that of the Church itself, to that infallibility absolutely certain and unquestionable, which carries its conditions with it.

"Does the Pope possess this absolute infallibility as the head of the Church and of the first pastors as he forms a moral unity with the first pastors? Or does he, by virtue of the Divine promises, derive it from himself alone, so that infallibility flows down from the Pope to the Council and the whole Church.

"On this capital point Bellarmine is very explicit, when he affirms that 'the whole strength (*firmitatem*) of legitimate Councils is from the Pontiff, not part from the Pontiff, part from the Council[5].'

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[3] De Rom. Pont. iv. 2. [4] Ib.

[5] De Rom. Pont. iv. 3.

"I will not examine here, whether Bellarmine is always very consistent with himself, or whether the idea which he gives of General Councils, in his book 'On Councils,' can easily be reconciled with the doctrine which makes their infallibility depend upon the Pope[6]. Any how, he teaches this doctrine very clearly in his treatise 'On the Roman Pontiff.'

"So, then, according to Bellarmine and his school, the Pope, considered apart from the Episcopal body, apart from the General Council, and separate from it, possesses by himself alone the Divine privilege of infallibility. The Pope then enjoys the privilege of *separate*, as well as that of *absolute*, infallibility.

"I do not affirm that all the theologians of the Italian school profess on this point doctrines as absolute and exclusive as those of Bellarmine. My only subject now, is the theory of the illustrious Cardinal.

"Does this absolute and separate infallibility, which Bellarmine attributes to the sovereign Pontiff, extend to all the acts, all the decisions, all the decrees which emanate from the Pontifical authority? The result of a long dissertation on the errors attributed to thirty-five Popes[7], is, that the Roman Theologian only claims infallibility for the instruction which he calls 'clearly Apostolic and *ex cathedra*[8].'

"What is to be understood by this instruction *ex cathedra?* The theologians of the Italian school are known not to be agreed as to the conditions and signs of that instruction. Some say that instruction *ex cathedra* is that which is conformable to Scripture and tradition. Others, that it is that which proceeds from mature examination and wise counsels. These require that the Pope should enjoy entire liberty of spirit, and should pray fervently before pronouncing his sentence. Those will that he should encompass it with great solemnity, employ certain formulæ, and anathematize opposers.—Here we are

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[6] De Conciliis, ii. 1, and elsewhere.

[7] De Rom. Pont. iv. 8—14.

[8] "Plane Apostolicum et ex cathedra."—Ib. iv. 14.

only occupied in obtaining a just and complete opinion of the system of Bellarmine.

"We have seen that the great theologian,—while recognizing that the Pope, before pronouncing his decisions, ought to take all human means to know the truth,—does not make Pontifical infallibility depend on its being ascertained that these wise rules have been observed. Infallibility for him would become uncertain, consequently useless, if there could be the slightest doubt whether the Pope had observed all the rules of prudence. To maintain consistency with his own rigorous system, Bellarmine can only distinguish judgments *ex cathedra* by the objects of those judgments. In other words, Bellarmine admits and must admit that there is a judgment *ex cathedra* on all occasions in which the Pope instructs the whole Church in matters of faith and morals[9]. Most of the conditions and formalities required for judgments *ex cathedra* by the theologians of the Italian school, tending in their nature to make every one judge of the judgments of the Pope, cannot enter into the system of Bellarmine. He will often have recourse to those conditions and formalities to escape the grave difficulties which have been raised against several decretals and Bulls of Sovereign Pontiffs. But the spirit of his system will always bring him back to his absolute affirmations.

"We can now, I hope, form an exact idea of what we mean by the *absolute* and *separate* infallibility of the Pope. 'Absolute infallibility' is unconditional infallibility, or infallibility with conditions which no one can or ought to verify. 'Separate infallibility' is the ascription of this Divine privilege to the Pope, apart from any concurrence of the Bishops with the Pontifical decision, whether this concurrence is antecedent, concomitant, or subsequent, express or tacit.

"This absolute and separate infallibility, being attached, not to the human person, to the Pope as man, but to the Pontifical person, to the Pontiff (as we have seen), becomes, in this sense personal. Absolute and separate infallibility is then, at the same time, personal."

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[9] Ib. iv. 3 and 5.

The limitation (as Mgr. Maret has pointed out) framed to meet particular cases, cannot, in the nature of the case, be applied to any other. For it would involve an unlimited private judgment, sitting as arbiter whether the conditions were fulfilled, whereon infallibility is asserted to depend. This would be to build up infallibility with the one hand, and undermine it with the other. This is our security in submitting at once to the Creed of the Church or to the Œcumenical Councils, in which the whole Church, East and West, were united, that we know that we are submitting to an infallible authority. This is our safety in taking as our rule of faith the *quod semper*, *quod ubique*, *quod ab omnibus*, that we know that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church."

The infallibility of the Pope would be a perplexity rather than a guide, if it suffered any exceptions. This has practically been the case, and must be so hereafter, if (quod absit!) that doctrine should be declared. Innocent I. has been alleged as an authority for the larger Canon of Scripture, not as a testimony of that time, but as a Pope, notwithstanding that (if the list be his) he premises, at the beginning of his letter, that he gave "the answer on each matter proposed to him, according to the capacity of his understanding[1]."

[1] "Consulenti tibi, quid de proposita specie unaquaque sentirem, pro captu intelligentiæ meæ respondi."—Ep. 3 ad Exup., init. Conc. iii. 13, Col.

which is any thing but an assertion of infallibility. It is not alleged—and it is every way improbable—that the errors of Sixtus V., in correcting the Vulgate, should have touched upon any matter of faith or morals; we have seen how the fact was suppressed, for fear of the shock which might be given to the belief in the infallibility of the Pope.

In regard to Papal infallibility—taking us nationally, whether members of the Anglican Church or Dissenters—I suppose that nothing would touch the English more universally, than what would, I suppose, be necessarily involved in its decision, viz. that Popes can of Divine right depose kings, release subjects from their allegiance, give away kingdoms, claim a temporal sovereignty over them. For all this is contained, as you know, in the decrees of Gregory VII. There could hardly be any thing more formal than the deposition of Henry in Gregory's third Roman Council.

"[2] To me by thy [S. Peter's] favour is given by God the power of binding and loosing in heaven and earth. Relying then on this confidence, for the defence and honour of thy Church, on the part of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by thy power and authority, I interdict to king Henry, son of that Emperor Henry, who, with pride unheard of, rose against thy Church, the government of the whole realm of the Germans and of Italy, and I absolve all Christians from the bond of the oath, which they have made or shall make to him, and forbid any one to serve him as king.—In thy stead I bind him with anathema, and so bind him out of confidence in thee,

[2] Conc. Rom. iii. A. 1076. Conc. xii. 599, 600, Col.

that the nations may know and approve that thou art Peter, and on thy rock did the Son of the living God build the Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

I will add but the instances given by Bossuet, in which Gregory threatens only, but by threatening declares that he had the power of making subjects rebel against their sovereign. It is not the question as to the rightfulness of the cause, or whether he might not have denied him communion, as S. Ambrose did the Emperor Theodosius, but simply whether he had the power which none before him used. He says to his Legates,—

"[3] Do ye, if need be, resist in our stead, and, *interdicting the government of the whole realm*, separate both him and all who agree with him from the partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ."

"[4] Either shall the king himself [Philip] repudiating the foul merchandise of the simoniacal heresy, permit fit persons to be advanced to the sacred rule, or the French shall certainly, unless they choose to reject the Christian faith, being stricken with the sword of a general anathema, refuse to obey him further."

And to the French Bishops,—

"[5] But if neither by such severity [the interdiction of the public celebration of every public office throughout all France], he will to repent, we would not have it concealed or doubtful to any one, that in all ways, by the help of God, we will endeavour to wrest the kingdom of France from his occupation."

There is no use in going over the well-known

[3] Greg. VII. Epp. iv. 23 and 24.
[4] Id. i. 35.
[5] Id. ii. 5, in Boss. Def. Decl. i. 1. 7.

tales. There can be no question that the Popes pronounced these depositions, or absolved subjects and gave away kingdoms to others, as Popes. Gregory VII., when asked what answer could be given to those who said that the Pope could not absolve any one from his oath of allegiance, made what answer he could [6]. Innocent III. declares that God "[7] placed the Supreme Pontiff of the Apostolic See, whom He ordained in S. Peter as a Vicar to Himself, over kingdoms and nations, bestowing on him the power over all nations and kingdoms to root out and to destroy, to disperse and to dissipate, to build and to plant, saying to him in the Prophet Jer. i. 10." "[8] Being set above kings and kingdoms by the pre-eminence of Divine power, we dispose of them as we think fit," said Boniface VIII. to James king of Arragon, when bestowing Sardinia and Corsica upon him, on the yearly payment of 2000 marks. I do not, of course, mean that the Popes were not most often in the right, and the Emperors in the wrong; and plenty of things have been done in order to maintain "the balance of power," as unjust as the worst things done by bad Popes. But Divine authority was not claimed for civil

[6] See Boss. Def. i. 1. 7, 8.

[7] Bullar. Rom. Cherubini, i. 37, to the king of Bulgaria (repeated to King John, A.D. 1215. Matt. Paris, p. 224), quoting also the usual texts from the N.T. The Pope proceeds to appoint one (with his successors) king of the Bulgarians, "who had long been alienated from their mother's breast."

[8] Bullarium Rom. Cocquelines, T. iii. p. 3, p. 82.

wrongs. Further, the decree of Papal infallibility would involve, I suppose, that it is matter of faith, that Popes may not only depose kings judged to be sinful or heretical, but may give away the lands of the unoffending heathen[9]. And if the Bull itself is infallible, all the details in it must be so, deposition of the king, absolution of his subjects from oaths of allegiance, the forbidding to observe them more, command to his subjects to rise in arms against him and drive him from his kingdom, requisition to princes to make war against him, to seize the property of his accomplices, and to make his subjects, residing abroad, slaves[1]. I do not mean, that the English have not done actually worse, who judicially murdered one king and expelled another; nor that the Pope's deposition of Henry VIII. (as far as his power went), and absolution of his subjects from their oaths, was worse than the forced abdication of James II. by his subjects, contrary to their oaths. This alone would be the question with the English, "Is this involved in the decree of the Pope's infallibility?"

These depositions were attempted at intervals during some five centuries[2], from the deposition of

[9] Bull. 2 Alex. VI. ad Freder. Hisp. Reg. in Bull. Rom. T. i. p. 467. Lugd. 1655, quoted Boss. Def. i. 1. 15, p. 269.

[1] Bull against Henry VIII. Cherubini, Bullar. Rom. T. ii. p. 704, also in Burnet's Records, T. i. B. 3, n. 9.

[2] The following list of Prof. Hussey, as I am told, "contains all of importance except the cases which occurred in Naples and Aragon, to which the Popes had a sort of feudal claim, and

the Emperor Henry IV. by Gregory VII. to that of Elizabeth by Pius V., and its renewal by Sixtus V.[3], 1588. It must require a great change in the mind of Europe before they could become effective. Still, when the relief of Roman Catholics from civil disabilities was sought in the last century, although three centuries had passed since its exercise, and then it had fallen "telum imbelle sine ictu," it was the chief ground alleged, why those disabilities were continued, so ingrained was the mistrust in the English mind. At the time, Bossuet says,—

"'No Catholic prince paid any deference to the declaration

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that of Philip the Fair, for whom Boniface VIII. had prepared his Bull of deposition, when he was seized," the day before it was to be published. The Emperor Henry IV. by Gregory VII. A.D. 1076 (Mansi, xxi. 467), continued by succeeding Popes (Mansi, xxi. 277); the Emperor Frederic I. by Alexander III. A.D. 1168 (Mansi, xxii. 34); the Emperor Otto IV. by Innocent III. A.D. 1210 (Mansi, ib. 813), and King John, A.D. 1212 (Matt. Paris, p. 195); the Emperor Frederic II. by Gregory IX. A.D. 1238 (Mansi, xxiii. 78), and Innocent IV. A.D. 1245 (Ib. 613); Louis of Bavaria, by John XXII. A.D. 1333 (Trithem. Chron. ii. 515); Henry VIII. by Paul III. A.D. 1535 (Cherubini Bullar. ii. 704); Elizabeth by Pius V. A.D. 1569 (Collier, Eccl. H. ii. 521). "Rise of the Papal Power," pp. 173—175.

[3] C. Butler's Historical Memoirs, T. ii. p. 3, ed. 3.

[4] Def. iv. 23, p. 98. "What good or harm did it do, that Henry VIII. was deposed by Paul III., Elizabeth by Pius V.? Waste paper as to temporals, they were held of no account either by heretics or Catholics. Treaties, alliances, commerce, business went on. The Roman Pontiffs knew it would be so, and yet the Curia by vain formulæ gave sanction to a vain title.

[of Pius V.] or abstained from acknowledging Elizabeth as Queen. Nor did the Pontiff obtain any other result, than to have seemed to have impelled to arms English Catholics who were certain to perish, with either none or a doubtful title to martyrdom, since they were put to dreadful deaths as traitors." At the time of the Spanish Armada, notwithstanding the revival of the deposition by Sixtus V., his absolution of her subjects from their allegiance, and his command to them to employ all their forces against her, many English Roman Catholics supported her[5].

You are familiar with the fact of the rejection of the Pope's civil authority in England, and of his power to dispense subjects from their allegiance, by the Sorbonne, the Universities of Louvain, Douai, Alcala, Salamanca, obtained by the English Roman Catholics, and presented to Pitt[6]. "The Pope's claim to temporal power by Divine right," says C. Butler[7], "has not perhaps at this time a single advocate." The celebrated tract, "Roman Catholic Principles in Reference to God and the King[8],"—of which thirty-five editions were published between 1748 and 1813, and "a copy was presented to Pitt by a Committee of English Roman Catholics[9],"—expressly disclaimed the Pope's direct

This meanwhile was the gain of heretics, that the Catholics suffered, not as Catholics, but as public enemies, ready to rise against the king, whenever it so pleased the Roman Pontiff." Ib. pp. 103, 104.

[5] Butler, ii. 10, 11.

[6] Butler, iv. 13. The questions and answers are given at length. Ib. i. 439—482.

[7] Ib. ii. 222.

[8] Reprinted in Butler's Memoirs, iii. 497—509.

[9] Butler, iv. 494.

or indirect authority over the temporal power and jurisdiction of princes, or his power to absolve or dispense subjects from their allegiance.

It has been suggested to me by Roman Catholics to bring the fact to the remembrance of the English Roman Catholics, that it would involve a great scandal, if what was so often repudiated, in order to remove their civil disqualifications, should, after they had gained them, be indirectly made matter of faith.

I will set down only one difficulty more involved as to the past, which I think that the English would feel. It is as to some of the Crusades. One of the things most commonly urged against confession is, that people sin in the hope of future pardon. We know this to be false; and that, to take the worst case, it is more hopeful if a person breaks off his sins before an Easter Confession and Communion than if he never interrupted them at all. Faint as the gleam may be, it is still some light on the soul, shining in its darkness, some idea of what repentance is, some fewer sins to do dishonour to Almighty God, a memory of a temporary exemption from the thraldom of sin, which may by God's grace be the forerunner of real repentance.

Now Bulls as to the Crusades do in the letter contain forgiveness for sins not yet committed, on the condition, in some cases, of contrition and confession, but still beforehand.

It must have occurred to many, that one great

reason of the failures of the Crusades (besides the jealousies of the great among the Crusaders) lay in the class of men who were thus drawn to them. Doubtless some were really converted. But S. Bernard, I fear, was over-sanguine when he rejoiced that—

"[1] Very few in such a multitude of men flow thither, save men flagitious and ungodly, robbers and sacrilegious, homicides, perjured, adulterers, at whose departure, as there is manifestly a double good, so there is also a double joy, since they gladden their people at their departure, and those whom they haste to succour by their arrival."

The point, however, for which I refer to them here, is, that I see no way of explaining language which occurs in several of these Bulls, inviting Christians to join the Crusades, short of being a conditional forgiveness beforehand of sins not yet committed, which, I suppose, would be held contrary to the true faith. My only solution has been, that, Crusades being accounted a holy war, death in them was accounted a sort of martyrdom; and a true martyrdom, we know, was ever accounted "a Baptism of blood." Still this is not the language. And, since they were proclaimed with the whole Papal authority, and were addressed to all Christians, they seem to come under the most common conditions of being said "ex cathedra;" and would, in case of a decree of the personal infallibility of the Pope, become an additional embarrassment.

[1] Exhort. ad mil. templi, c. 5, Opp. i. 555.

The first given by Amort is that granted by Gregory VII. to the supporters of Rudolf of Suabia against Henry IV., whom he had deposed.

"[2] Writing to Belgium he thus decrees, 'That Rudolf may rule and defend the kingdom of Germany, on your fealty, I give, bestow, grant to all who cleave faithfully to him absolution of all sins.'

"[3] A. 1095. Urban, in the city of Clermont, held a great Council, when he said, 'Jerusalem seeks to be freed: from you chiefly it seeks for succour. Take then this way *for the remission of your sins, secure of the unfading glory of the kingdom of Heaven.*'

"[4] Pope Gelasius to the army of Christians keeping Saragossa, and to all who cherish the Catholic faith. 'Since ye have decided to expose yourselves and your property to extremest perils, if any of you, having received penance for his sins, die in this expedition, we, by the merits of the saints and the prayers of the Catholic Church, absolve him from the bands of his sins.'

"Calixtus II., in the Lateran Council[5], A. 1122, 'To those who set out to Jerusalem, and give effectual aid to defend the Christian people and put down the tyranny of the infidels, we grant remission of their sins.'

"[6] Eugenius [III.] to Louis and all the faithful of God throughout France, 'We admonish you all in the Lord, request, instruct, and enjoin for the remission of sins, that they who are God's—and especially the more powerful—be zealous so to meet the multitude of the infidels, which boast that it has gained a time of victory over us, and so to defend the Eastern Church, which was freed by such effusion of the blood of your fathers from their tyranny—that the dignity of

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[2] A. 1084. In Amort's Hist. Indulg. P. 1. S. 2, p. 54.

[3] Ib. n. 3, p. 56.

[4] Ib. n. 4, from Baronius, A. 1118, n. 18.

[5] Can. 2 in Amort, n. 6.

[6] A. 1145, in Amort, n. 7.

the Christian name may be increased in your time. We, then, with paternal solicitude, providing for your quiet and the destitution of the said Church, do, by the authority granted to us by God, concede and confirm to those who shall determine to undertake and carry through so holy and most necessary a work of labour and toil in view of devotion, that remission of sins which our predecessor, Pope Urban, instituted. We, according to the institution of our aforesaid predecessor, do, by the authority of Almighty God and of S. Peter, prince of the Apostles, given to us by God, grant such remission and absolution of sins, that whoso shall devoutly begin and carry through so holy a journey, or if he dies there, shall obtain absolution of all his sins, of which with contrite and humble heart he undertakes confession, and receive from the Rewarder of all the fruit of everlasting retribution.'"

It is not necessary to multiply these. Others include remission of penance; yet these and others look like the absolute remission of the sins themselves. Any how, the language needs explanation; and in these days, in which faith is so manifoldly assaulted, it seems to be the part of charity not to multiply them.

Later writers of authority[7] have entirely separated the idea of forgiveness of sins from indulgences. They deny that indulgences can even concur towards the remission of the sins themselves; they say that Urban's promise that they "would have the fruit of eternal reward," was conditioned by "the sacramental confession which necessarily brings with it absolution, remitting

[7] Theodosius in Sp. S. de Indulg. P. i. c. 5. I am told that he is the highest authority on the subject.

sins;" that Pope Gelasius, when he said, "we absolve from the bands of their sins," meant "the band of punishment, not of guilt;" and that, if any indulgences had the clause, "remission of guilt and punishment," these words were either fraudulently inserted by the vendors, or they only signified a most full indulgence, as exciting persons to repentance, whereby they obtained remission of guilt, or, finally, that the words signified "absolution in reserved cases also."

The doctrine then is clear at present. The only question is, whether it is well to encumber it with defences as to the past. It would be very difficult to persuade people that the quarrel between Rudolf and Henry IV. was such, that to die for Rudolf was martyrdom. The Crusades themselves had not the blessing of God upon them; and all Christendom now seems tacitly to condemn them, since, whereas it requires but one united will on the part of Christendom to accomplish their avowed end, that will now exists not: the object of all this bloodshed has not seemed even an object of desire. At that time, to fight for the Holy Land, and to die in so fighting, was taught by Popes to have the reward of martyrdom.

"[8] He [Urban], grieving that the Saracens had seized Jerusalem the holy city, and the sepulchre of the Lord, wishing to rescue

[8] Chron. Casaur. A. 1097, L. v. init. in Murat. Scriptt. rerr. Ital. ii. 2, p. 872.

it from the hands of the ungodly, and to restore it to its former liberty, preached remission of sin, and, by the vicegerency given him by God, *gave it* to all, whoever should go to Jerusalem, and free the city and land beyond sea, possessed by the Saracens. Adding this, moreover, that whoever, whether in journey or in battle, should die for Christ, being absolved from all their sins, should be counted among the martyrs. And since the whole world ran after him, eager to receive remission of sins, and to be in the number of the Holy Martyrs," &c.

A defence of the Crusades, prepared at the command of Gregory X. for the Council of Lyons, A.D. 1274, answered the objection from the loss of Christian life.

"[9] The end of Christianity is to fill, not the world, but Heaven. What matter then, if Christians are minished in this world through the death which they undergo for God, seeing that through such deaths they go to heaven, and perhaps they would not go there in any other way?"

It mentions also a saying ascribed to S. Louis [1], that he could say at the Day of Judgment, that he too had been taken and maltreated for Him, as He for him.

Innocent III., who promised increase of everlasting reward, appealed far and wide:—

"[2] Whoso in such necessity refuses his fealty to Christ, what will he say when he stands to be judged at His tribunal?

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[9] Opusc. tripartit. L. i. c. 12, in Brown, Fasc. Rer. expet. ii. 193, and (shorter) Mansi, Conc. xxiv. 114.

[1] Ib. c. 17.

[2] Epist. decr. L. i. Narbonensi Archiep. &c. et univ. Pop. in Narbon. Opp. ii. 212. Sent also to the Archbishops of Lyons

What can he answer as his excuse? 'If God suffered death for man, shall man hesitate to suffer death for God?"

Innocent speaks of the evil lives of former Crusaders as a ground of their failure[3]. S. Bernard speaks of the sort of persons who were attracted to his Crusade. If forgiveness of all sins, and heaven, were promised beforehand on such easy terms, who wonders that such persons fell into such excesses?

There is the further question, whether it is for the furtherance of peace, to declare that the Pope was infallibly right, when he directed or urged Crusades, not only for the recovery of the Holy Land, but against the heathen in the North of Europe, the Sclaves, Lithuanians, Livonians; against the Albigenses, the Hussites, and "the Schismatic Greeks," the Sicilian rebels, or his own enemies, Manfred, or the Colonnas.

Hincmar puts the difficulty of obeying the decretals more broadly. His words picture vividly what might be the difficulty, if every saying of Popes, addressed to the Church, were declared infallible truth:—

and Vienna, and to all in the kingdoms of France, England, Hungary, and Sicily.

[3] "If ye walk in the law of the Lord, not following their steps, who, going after vanity, became vain, who voluptuously gave themselves to gluttony and drunkenness, and did those things beyond seas, which, in the land of their birth, they would not dare to do without much infamy," etc.—Ib. p. 214.

"[4] How great is the difference between those Councils which he decreed were to be kept and received, and which the Catholic Fathers thenceforth wished to remain firm and unshaken, and those Epistles which were given at divers times, for the consolation of divers persons, which, he says, are to be received with reverence—no one, practised in Ecclesiastical dogmas, is ignorant. For, if we begin to wish to hold and practise some of those things which are contained in some of those Epistles, we shall begin to act against many other things of those Epistles. And, again, if we begin to hold and keep other things, contrary to what we had done, we shall do against those things which we before desired to keep, and shall deviate from the Sacred Councils, which are by us ever to be received, held, guarded, and followed; nay, we shall depart most injuriously from the custom which the Catholic Church had, from the time when our Fathers met at the sacred Nicene Council, who still, as Leo says, live with us in their constitutions, and, holding nothing certain, we shall stumble upon the sect of those who defined that all things were uncertain."

In some things, I suppose, the declaration of Papal infallibility would not embarrass us, but would rather modify the existing theology among you. As when Pope S. Gelasius (in a book[5] quoted by S. Fulgentius[6], about A.D. 507, eleven years after the decease of S. Gelasius, as written by "Pope Gelasius of blessed memory") says,—

"Certainly the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ which we receive is a Divine thing; wherefore also we are by the same made partakers of the Divine Nature, and yet *the*

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[4] Hincmar Opusc. capp. 55 adv. Hincmar. Laudun. c. 25. Opp. ii. 482, 483.

[5] De duabus in Christo Naturis, adv. Eutychen et Nestorium, B. P. viii. 703.

[6] In the De 5 quæstt. ad Ferrand. B. P. ix. 187.

substance or nature of bread and wine ceaseth not to be. And certainly the image and likeness of the Body and Blood of Christ are celebrated in the action of the mysteries. It is then shown to us very clearly, that we must think of Christ the Lord Himself the same which we profess, celebrate, and receive in His image, that as they [the elements] pass into this, viz. the Divine Substance (the Holy Spirit perfecting this), yet *abiding in their own proper nature,* so they show that that chief Mystery itself, the efficiency and virtue whereof they truly represent to us, doth from those [two Natures] whereof He is properly abiding, abide One Christ, because Perfect and True."

If the words "substantia vel natura" represent φύσις only, still the reception of this as infallible truth, would materially modify sayings of the schoolmen.

Or again (to set down briefly what I have dwelt on before), when S. Gregory the Great, in a formal answer to S. Augustine of Canterbury, how to proceed with his newly-converted English, said[7],—

"Marriage with a sister-in-law is also [as well as with a mother-in-law] forbidden, who by her former union became the brother's flesh. For which also John Baptist was beheaded and crowned with martyrdom."

Or when Innocent III. grants that in the degrees of consanguinity forbidden by the Divine law [i. e. by Leviticus], dispensation cannot be given ["in illis dispensari non possit[8]"].

Or when Gregory the Great refused the title of Universal Pope[9], alleging that "whatsoever is given

[7] Epp. L. xi. Ind. xi. Ep. 6, Int. 6, col. 1154.

[8] Decr. Greg. II. 13.

[9] Epp. viii. 30, ad Eulog.

to another more than reason requires, is so much taken away from yourself."

"[1] For, if one (as he [John of Const.] thinks) is universal, it remains that you are not Bishops."

And Leo IX., when he said[2],—

"The humility of those venerable Pontiffs [the Bishops of Rome], worthy of all imitation, considering that the chief of the Apostles himself is not found called 'universal Apostle,' wholly rejected that proud title, whereby a like dignity seemed to be withdrawn from all, when it was totally arrogated to the one."

Again, it must in one way much limit the authority of the Pope, that some Popes have said, "I cannot undo the Ecclesiastic Canons," and the like, or that Pope Leo III. repudiated the thought that he could alter the terms of the Creed, as being against the Fathers of Chalcedon[3].

Or Popes have spoken of their own fallibility[4].

Or Pope Clement VI. said that the gift of the Cup was "for the greater increase of grace[5]."

The decree as to the Immaculate Conception would surely have to be modified in view of the sayings of four Popes,—

"[6] How much less is it to be believed that His Soul could come from the propagation of a sinner [peccatricis]."

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[1] Ib. ix. 68, ad Euseb. See more fully "Eirenicon," P. I. pp. 309—314.

[2] Leo IX. Ep. 1 ad Michael. Const. n. 9. Conc. xi. B. 22, Col.

[3] See ab. p. 174.

[4] See ab. pp. 237—240.

[5] See below, p. 330.

[6] Epistle of Pope Zosimus in S. Aug. Ep. 100 ad Opt. n. 24,

"[7] The earth of human flesh—*in this Birth Alone,* from the Blessed Virgin yielded a Blessed Fruit, and alien from the fault of His race."

"[8] When we see no one is excepted."

"[9] That one [Eve] was produced without fault, but produced unto fault; but this one [Mary] *was produced in fault,* but produced without fault."

And now my task is done. I have not thought it necessary to speak either of the Communion in both kinds or of a married Clergy, because both are accounted among you to be matters of discipline, and so they need present no difficulties to you. The Marriage Service in our Prayer Book implies that the celibate is the higher state; for it speaks of "the gift of continency:" much more in those who are called "to spend and to be spent" for Christ—who have to teach others to despise all things for love of Him Who loved them and gave Himself for them; that we are here but for a little while, exiles from our home with God, strangers and pilgrims

more fully in "Eirenicon," P. II. p. 96. The passage is very often urged by Card. de Turrecremata.

[7] S. Leo I. De Nat. Dom. 4, n. 3. See more fully "Eirenicon," P. II. p. 125.

[8] Pope S. Gelasius, Ep. vii. Conc. v. 302—304, given fully "Eirenicon," P. II. p. 128.

[9] Innocent III. in Solemn. Assump. glor. semper Virg. Serm. ii. Opp. i. 351. The Abbé Migne thought the passage to be contrary to the definition of the Imm. Conc. "So could Pope Innocent think as to a matter, not as yet defined by the Church, which now is of faith." See more fully, "Eirenicon," P. II. pp. 195, 196.

on the earth, with no other real end of our being than, by the grace of God, to become *that* for which He in His eternal love willed each of us to become. But God Alone knows to whom or on how many He bestows that "gift of continency," or whether He bestows it so largely, that the celibacy of the Clergy can be enforced without risk to the souls of men, or of those terrible scandals which in mediæval times the Church groaned under, but could not remedy. God is, among us, drawing more and more to that better part, to which, my dearest friend, He drew you while with us; and so one may hope that, while it is left free to the Clergy also to be married or unmarried, "as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness," God will continue His work, and give us continually more, whose Portion He Alone shall be—He, the exceeding great Reward of His own.

The Cup we wish to retain, not as doubting that they receive Christ wholly who receive Him under one kind, but because it would seem to us to be questioning His wisdom, to deny that there must be some special gift in the Cup also. You know in what glowing words the Church of old spoke of "the living Blood," "the life-giving Blood," "the Precious Blood," "the atoning Blood," "the saving Blood," "the Blood of our Redeemer;" "the Cup of Salvation;" of our "drinking our Ransom;" of drinking, "not water from the rock, but Blood from His Side." The words with

which It is administered among us, "The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life," were translated from the existing Ritual. Among you still, Lugo notes that the priest, after receiving the Body, and before receiving the Cup, prays that the Blood which he wishes to receive "may preserve his soul unto everlasting life," which, too, cannot take place unless it produce something in the soul. I said, eighteen years ago, in a book now forgotten[1]:

"Vazquez[2] and Lugo[3] both admit that it is the more probable opinion that there is some special gift in the Cup. Lugo says that 'Franc. Blanco, Archbishop of Compostella, who was present at the Council of Trent, said, that such was the unanimous opinion of the fathers [there], but that they were unwilling to define it inopportunely, lest an occasion of outcry should be given to the heretics; wherewith agree the words of the Council itself (Sess. xxi. c. 3), where it is cautiously said, "As pertains to the fruit, they are deprived of no grace *necessary to salvation*, who receive one kind only." It did not say absolutely "no grace," but "no grace necessary to salvation," where, not without reason, that expression appears to have been added, "no grace necessary;"' and this, Vazquez adds, 'on the ground that the command to communicate was fulfilled by the reception of one kind only.' He notices, also, that this Council, although it says, 'Christ, whole and entire, is received under one kind only,' does not say that 'the *entire* (integrum) sacrament,' but 'a *true* (verum) sacrament is received;' and he sums up this part by saying:—'We grant that, according to this our opinion, the laity, to whom one kind

[1] "Letter to the Bishop of London," 1851, pp. 217 sqq.

[2] In 3 P. Disp. 215.

[3] De Sacr. Euch. Disp. xii. S. 3.

is denied, are deprived of some grace, yet not necessary to salvation, and that this the Council did not mean to deny.'

"They cite, moreover, Clement VI. (A.D. 1341), who granted the Cup to a king of France, 'ad majorem gratiæ augmentum,' 'to the greater increase of grace;' 'therefore,' adds Lugo, 'because both kinds give more grace than one.'

"Lugo dwells upon our Lord's own words, in which He speaks not of His Flesh only, but of His Blood. 'Christ said not, "My Flesh is truly satisfying, or nourishment generally," but "is meat indeed, and My Blood is drink indeed," to indicate that to His Body, received under the form of bread, belonged those effects spiritually, which the natural bread worketh [naturally], as the Council of Florence said, in the Decree of Eugenius; and to the Blood, under the form of wine, belonged those effects spiritually, which natural wine worketh [naturally]; so then a certain effect correspondeth to the Cup, i. e. to drink spiritually, which no wise belongs to the Bread; and, contrariwise, spiritual feeding no wise comes from the Cup, but from the Bread.'

"Again he urges, 'It is not credible that the Apostles, when, after Supper, they were invited by Christ to drink the Cup, did not receive some fruit from that reception, but only a more explicit sign of the fruit which they had before already received; yea, from the very mode of giving the Cup, Christ seemeth to have invited them by some hope of spiritual fruit, and by the same hope to invite us, too, to the Cup, after receiving the Body.'

"He quotes also Arnoldus, Abbot of Bonneval (about A.D. 1162, a friend of S. Bernard), who, speaking of the Cup, says, 'Christ Himself gave this Cup, and taught that we should not only be outwardly bedewed with His Blood, but that inwardly, too, the soul should be guarded by Its Almighty sprinkling; and that the power of so mighty a medicine, penetrating all things, should disperse whatever there was hard within, and renew and heal whatsoever disease clave to the flesh, or wherewith the corruption of the former life had stained the spirit.'

"He adds, 'In this sense it is commonly said, that this Cup spiritually inebriateth him who receiveth it, which cannot be understood without some efficiency. In this sense, too, Christ

is said to have given to the mournful the Cup of His Blood[4], i.e. to cause joy to them by that Drink, which also cannot take place without efficiency.' "

The use of prayers, even of the Eucharistic Liturgy, in our own language would not, I trust, form a difficulty, since, whatever changes languages may have undergone, the Liturgy must at first have been in the language of the people; and now, too, I suppose that an Italian or Spanish, or even a French peasant, must be able to follow Latin devotions much more than any Saxon people.

The nomination of our Bishops by internal authority, in any primitive mode of election, would leave us what we wish to remain—English, not Italian or Spanish Catholics. Oakeley says that—

"If the Pope is to exercise in a re-united England the power which he claims all over the world, of controlling the appointments to the Episcopate, *it is quite certain* that Bishops so nominated, or at least accepted by him, will, with the priests who are their subjects, be the instruments of flooding England with the devotions to which Dr. Pusey conscientiously objects[5]."

Yet, why so? The devotions which I spoke of as our difficulties, are no matters of faith. Though transplanted into England, they are not of English growth; they do not (as you pointed out) represent the theology of the old English Roman Catholics. I took them as I found them in an English dress.

[4] In the hymn of Corpus Christi,—

"Dedit fragilibus Corporis ferculum,
Dedit et tristibus Sanguinis poculum."

[5] Letter to the Most Rev. W. E. Manning, p. 53.

I am thankful to have heard, on Roman authority, that De Montfort's work, which was introduced to us on such high authority, "as having been minutely examined at Rome, in view of the writer's canonization," and which so startled me by its new theology[6], was "very incorrectly translated." I have been told that "De Montfort does not say some of the things which are most startling in the English." But then, surely, your authorities should have it corrected; for they are supposed to have publications under their control in a way which ours have not, and so are more responsible for them. For these things drive us back inexpressibly. We make ourselves acquainted with the Council of Trent; we see in what sense—and that a sense approved by some of your own writers—we could receive it; and then we are bewildered with a teaching, in which there is one central figure, which (although one could not exaggerate the love due to her whom Jesus so loved and loves) is not Jesus, our God. Where we should expect to find the Name of Jesus, we find Mary, or, at the best, Jesus and Mary, as joint, although in a disparate degree, dispensers of graces—He, as having them in Himself to give; His Mother, as being entrusted or delegated by Him to give them. If we complain of this, we are (at least by foreign ecclesiastics) frankly told of the "exaggeration" of the "livres de piété." And yet, on the other hand, these

[6] "Eirenicon," P. I. pp. 164, 165.

devotions seem to be employed as the easiest way of drawing the hearts of those to whom our Redeemer—as He Who shall come to be our Judge —is an object of awe. The devotion of women seems to expand itself most easily towards her, who, although "blessed above all women," was yet a woman. The name of Mother has the most sacred tenderness of all human (though still human) affections; and children seem to be taught to love her as a Mother, even before they learn of Jesus as their Redeemer, or God as their Father. And this, we are told, is continually growing.

"A happy hurrying force[7]," the Benedictines of Solesme told us about ten years ago[8], "impels souls more and more towards the mother of mercies. How many hearts are there who did not know God some years ago, and who now live by the life of grace, *because* Mary has deigned to cast down upon them the looks of her maternal tenderness. In the centre of the capital (Paris) prodigies of grace emanate unceasingly from the sacred heart of Mary, who has chosen for the centre of her influences the Church of 'Our Lady of Victories,' that trophy of our ancient faith over heretics."

We know to Whom you look as the Life of all those who live the life of grace, Whom you love, as "drawing all men to Himself," Him Whose you are, in Whom you are, Who has been to you the Way, as He will be evermore your Life. But why, in books of your communion, does the Blessed

[7] Entraînement.

[8] "La Triple Couronne de la Mère de Dieu," par Poiré. Publié par les RR. PP. Bénédictins de Solesmes. Préf. pp. v, vi. Paris 1858.

Mother of God so often stand where we should expect to find her Son? Why, even in books which withdraw so much of the teaching which startles us, do we still find the love towards Mary contrasted with that to Jesus, as being "pure love," "unmingled with fear [9]," and herself "ap-

[9] "Jesus Christ is the tender Father of the Christian family, wishing sincerely the salvation of all His children. However, in Him the two attributes of mercy and justice are equally to be acknowledged, so that He is both God of Mercy and God of Justice. Though we behold in Him the Son of God, taking the form of a servant and assuming our humanity, still we see in Him His Divinity and Infinite Majesty, which terrifies. We see Him as our dear Father, but not without the robe of judge punishing the guilty children; so that a Christian heart feels for Jesus Christ a love mixed with fear and awe—not a pure love, not that love which a child feels in the bosom of his mother. Our blessed Saviour therefore, from the Cross, wishing to give to Christians an object of love alone, without any mixture of fear, gave them Mary for their spiritual mother, *in whose* sweet maternity a Christian would find *nothing but mere mercy*, unaccompanied either by the fear of majesty (she not being God), nor by terror of judgment (she not being judge), but all meekness and compassion for his miseries, and endowed with the power, by the virtue of her Divine Son, to succour him. Hence a Christian throws himself at her feet, with a full confidence to find in her peace, comfort, and pure love, without any hindrance whatever to follow its attractions."—Melia, "Mary the Object of Veneration, Confidence, and Imitation to all Christians," p. 260. This cannot be literally meant; for Mary (being a creature, through the first of created beings) can only love with a finite love. Jesus loves us with an infinite love. And where would be the attractiveness of His love, Who, being God, became Man and died for us, if the sinner could not with more loving trust, cast himself at His Sacred Feet, and with S. Mary Magdalene entwine himself around His Cross?

pointed by Jesus Christ," as "*the* means to reach God, His grace, His glory[1]"?

[1] "What is, indeed, the good we covet? It is God, His grace, His glory. But Mary is appointed by Jesus Christ *to be the means* to reach such a good, as *through her* we may arrive at the possession both of Divine grace and glory. Such is the mission of Mary, and it shall be demonstrated in the next chapter. We only observe here, that Mary is *the* break of day, bringing the repentant sinner from the night of sin to the light of Divine grace," &c.—Melia, ib. p. 264. Of course, there is no question with us about the intercession of Mary, as of all the blessed saints in heaven, or that Jesus hears them. But M. Melia's analogy from earthly things, is precisely that which to us too represented this side of the devotions to Mary, and the very ground on which we dreaded them. "If the first Minister in a temporal kingdom is considered the most proper person to solicit favours from the Sovereign, will Mary not be considered the proper and fit person in the kingdom of heaven to present there, before the throne of the Most High, both public and private supplications, and obtain for us the graces we require? It is for this reason, that in the 'Salve Regina' we say," &c.,—p. 290. The question with us is not about the presenting of our prayers. In the Revelation we know that angels present prayers of the Church. It is, in brief, this: As Jesus is "the Way" to the Father, and no one cometh to the Father save by Him, is Mary *the* way to Jesus? As one who wants to obtain a temporal favour of the Sovereign, would go, not to the Queen, but to the Prime Minister, is it taught that *the* way to obtain Divine graces is to go, not to Jesus, but to Mary? This is what seems to us to be inculcated in "The Glories of Mary," and the analogy exactly expresses it. It seems to us, that, practically, the Office of our Lord's Humanity is, whenever Mary is spoken of, withdrawn from sight, and she, as the Mediatrix with the Mediator, with Whom she is certain to prevail, occupies the same place as our Blessed Lord does with the Father, only without His awefulness. And yet, since Jesus died for us, and His love is an infinite

But I would not again wound your loving heart by setting forth what wounds mine. Rather I would express my joy, that your strong protest, in which—without committing yourself to any opinion, whether any of the statements which I cited occurred in any authorized work, or whether, if they or any thing resembling them, should so occur, they had the meaning which I attached to them—you altogether repudiated them, has found a response in religious hearts in the Roman communion. Even at my own cost, I am thankful to see in a work recommended by a preface of your Bp. Ullathorne, the passage,—

"[2] Many will probably be surprised to learn that she [Mother Margaret] was far from liking the extravagant phraseology adopted in some books of devotion. She intensely admired Dr. Newman's celebrated 'Letter,' and was only deterred by timidity from writing him her thanks; but when, as it was read aloud to her, the reader came to that page in which he enumerates in order to condemn certain exaggerated and preposterous expressions, culled by a Protestant controversialist out of various foreign writers (*some* of them on the Index), she stopped her ears, and desired that they might be passed over in silence."

I am more thankful than I can say for this, however little the biographer of the good Religious knew of me or of my acts. Of the expressions which you rejected, one only occurred in a book on

love, who would not look with more trust in Him as His Judge, than to any mere human being, however tender?

[2] "Life of Mother Margaret Hallahan, with a Preface by Bp. Ullathorne," p. 320.

the Index; nor does the fact that a book is on the Index imply the condemnation of all which is in it (for Card. Bellarmine's learned work on Controversies was, we are informed, for two years on the Index); nor did I "cull passages out of various foreign writers." I mostly took either what had been naturalized among us in repeated editions, or what was brought to me by persons who were perplexed with them; and as to all, my central wish was, that, not being of faith, they might be rejected, as you have so energetically rejected many of them [3].

One word in conclusion of what, I hope, will be my farewell to Roman controversy, except as far as I have promised to discharge the ungracious, and to me hateful, task of answering some strictures upon former works of mine [4]. Some of your controversialists have pictured me much in the light of a well-known politician, who professed to have "educated" his party. They imagine that I have had an ulterior object in what I wrote as an "Eirenicon," viz. of forming a new front, as it were—teaching our controversialists what points to abandon, what to strengthen, and how to strengthen them; that I wished to show the Evangelicals especially that I was not so Romanizing as they may

[3] See in detail "Eirenicon," P. II. pp. 14—18.

[4] If this is delayed, it will be that my soul is wearied of controversy, and that I loathe this, which concerns none but myself, and, for my sake, a few friends, and would gladly, after all this labour of controversy, breathe a freer air.

have thought me; in a word, that, while professing peace, I was concentrating our ranks for war.

They have in this ascribed to me talents which I have not, and denied to me sincerity of heart and purpose, which, by God's mercy and grace, I trust I have.

I never was a party leader. I never acted on any system. My name was used first to designate those of us who gave themselves to revive the teaching of forgotten truth and piety, because I first had occasion to write fully on Baptismal Regeneration. But it was used by opponents, not by confederates. We should have thought it a note against us, to have deserved any party name, or to have been any thing but the followers of Jesus, the disciples of the Church, the sons and pupils of the great Fathers, whom He raised up in her. I never had any temptation to try to form a party, for it was against our principles. We rejoiced more to see any neglected truth revived, outside of our own large circle of friends, than at any results which God gave to our own labours. We watched with deep interest the gradual rising of the waters every where, as God the Holy Ghost brooded over them, secure that as they filled and overflowed their banks, they would meet in one. We rejoiced to see any one rising above his system, or receiving truths inconsistent with it, trusting that, as God gave strength to the soul encased within it, it would, chrysalis-like, burst its bonds

and soar into the free atmosphere of full evangelic truth. We saw that the work around us was not of man, but of God; and so had no temptation to cramp, or limit, or restrain His work. Then, personally, I was the more exempt from this temptation, because God has given me neither the peculiar organizing abilities which tempt men to it, nor any office (as that of an Archdeacon) which would entitle me directly to counsel others. Had I had any authority to speak or to advise, many things would not have been done which have been and are; many things might have been done which have not. If I had any special gift of God, it was, I should think, energy; to do what, in detail, I saw could be done on each occasion; and, whatever my hand found to do, to do it with all my might. My life, contrary to the character of party-leaders, has been spent in a succession of insulated efforts; bearing, indeed, upon our one great end, the growth of Catholic truth and piety among us, or contrariwise, resistance to what might hinder, retard, or obscure it; but still, insulated. I have looked on with regret at many things which have been done; extravagances which have been committed; truth exhibited in a way to repel rather than to attract; stiffness and pedantry or dryness, at times, in proposing it; hardness, contempt, and want of charity, which could not but injure the cause in which they were shown. The old Tractarians have had to bear the obloquy for

things which they would have, or actually did, disadvise. They have had the sorrow of seeing hearts retained in their alienation who might have been won. I have lived on into a time when the days of our prime and our best energies are, by some at least, looked down upon. It became a saying among a younger school, "The Tractarians were well enough for their day;" and most thankful should I be, if "all the Lord's people were prophets," and the younger generation were as much wiser than those of our youth as they think themselves to be[5].

For the "Eirenicon" itself, I could not even conjecture what its effects would be. I could only commit it to God, Who, I hoped, had taught me to turn into an Eirenicon what, at the earnest desire of others, I had begun as a defence. Only, I felt certain of this, that the Evangelicals, with whom my defence of the common faith had gained me popularity for the time, would be alienated. Amid the kindness shown me at the Norwich Congress (the "Eirenicon" had but just been published), I felt that I was throwing away my temporary popularity with my own hands. But God had, I trusted, put it into my heart to do it, and my only pain at the parting was, lest they should be repelled from truth which I had hoped they might one day receive.

[5] I ought not to say this without expressing my thankfulness for the efforts and results of the recent Mission services.

I should not have been guilty of this egoism even to you, but that I am anxious to disclaim the influence which loving hearts in the Roman Communion are apt to attribute to me. While my name is forgotten here, and the newest, most unpopular name of reproach for us all (ritualists or non-ritualists) is "Ritualist," those who abroad look at the work of God here with interest and love, ascribe to me an influence which I never sought, never had, and, least of all, have now. And this it seems honest to say now. For I wish, in this new "Eirenicon," to be understood as speaking in the name of no one but my single self. I have consulted no one. The one whom I ever consulted, with whom I was ever one, who was deeply interested in whatever might promote healthful reunion, to whom, in his last days, the hope was a subject of joy [6], can now only pray for it, but, perhaps, does more for us there. I write, then, in the name of no party. But I do write in the full confidence that I express the feelings of thousands upon thousands of English hearts, both here and in the United States, when I say, that if, not individual, but accredited, Roman authority could say, "Reunion would involve your professing your belief in this, and that, and that, but it would not involve your receiving such and such opinions, or practices, or devotions, or matters of discipline," I believe that the middle wall of partition which has existed so long in, as we believe, the one

[6] The Author of the "Christian Year."

fold of Christendom would be effectually shattered. As it is, whenever reunion is thought of, certain subjects start up like spectres, and motion us away. We should have to remodel our devotional habits of mind, if we were to have to conform them to the devotions of "La triple Couronne de Marie," or of "La Sainte Vierge d'après les Pères" (as the writer thought it to be). But we are children of common fathers, of those who, after having shone with the light of God within them upon earth, and set on a candlestick which shall never be hid the clear light of their inherited faith, now shine like stars in the kingdom of their Father. Sons of the same fathers, we must in time come to understand each other's language. I need not commit this to your deep personal love and large-hearted charity. To others in your communion I would only say through you, that neither in this nor in my former work have I thought to speak against any thing which is "of faith" among you; one only desire I have had, if it were possible to such as me, to promote a solid, healthful, lasting peace. Evil days and trial-times seem to be coming upon the earth. Faith deepens, but unbelief too becomes more thorough. Yet what might not God do to check it, if those who own one Lord and one faith were again at one, and united Christendom should go forth bound in one by Love—the full flow of God's Holy Spirit unhemmed by any of those breaks, or jars, or manglings—to win all to *His* Love Whom we all

desire to love, to serve, to obey. To have removed one stumbling-block would be worth the labour of a life. But He Alone, the Author of peace and the Lover of concord, can turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the children to the fathers. "O Lord, in the midst of the years revive Thy work: in the midst of the years make known: in wrath remember mercy."

May God hear your prayers, and reward your love!

Your most affectionate Friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

CHRIST CHURCH,
Feast of All Saints, 1869.

Note A, on p. 122.

The following Epitome is taken from Bishop Cosin's laborious book on the Canon. In the Greek Church, the Council of Laodicea, which, in the twenty-two books, counts Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah alone as one book, to the exclusion of the other Apocryphal books, was formally received by the Council of Chalcedon. Of individuals, Anastasius Sinaita says, "the whole O. T. consisted of twenty-two books" (Hexäem. L. vii. B. P. ix. 886), as does Leontius, counting three books of Solomon, and expressly saying that the twenty-two books of the O. T. were those canonized in the Church, and were received also by the Hebrews (de Sect. act. 2. Gall. xii. 627); for which he is corrected in the Index Expurg. as having "wrongly omitted Tobias, Judith, Esther, Wisdom, Ecclus., Maccabees." S. John Damascene states the books of the O. T. to be twenty-two (de Fid. orthod. iv. 18). Antiochus, a learned Greek monk, about A. 630, compared the books of Scripture with the sixty queens of the Canticles; i. e. twenty-seven of the N. T., and (counting the minor Prophets as twelve, not as one) thirty-three instead of twenty-two of the O. T., still excluding the Deutero-Canonical books [B. P. xii. 217, as did Philip the Solitary, A.D. 1145, Dioptra iv. 19. B. P. xii. P. i. p. 731, Col. 1618]. Nicephorus, Patriarch of Const. A.D. 820, counts the Deutero-Canonical books of the O. T. as "books spoken against" in contrast with those "received by the Church and canonized," i. e. the books of the Hebrew Canon (Chronograph. Compend. p. 419, Paris, 1652). Zonaras follows S. Athanasius, S. Greg. Naz., S. Amphiloch. (in Can. Conc. Carth. can. 27, p. 415), as does Balsamon (in Conc. Carth. can. 27, p. 656). Nicephorus Callistus counts these books as twenty-two in all; twelve genuine historical books, and "all besides spurious" (Synops. Script. in Cyr. Theod. Prodromi Epigr. Bas. 1536).

In the Western Church the Prologus galeatus of S. Jerome, which distinguished the Canonical from the Apocryphal books, continued (Cosin observes, n. 88) to be prefixed to all Bibles, "not the catalogue of S. Augustine, or the Canon of Carthage, or the (supposed) decree of Gelasius." Of individual writers, Cassiodorus mentions both S. Jerome's and S. Augustine's catalogues, and says that the Apocryphal books were commented upon by Bellator, on the same grounds as were assigned by S. Jerome; Primasius supposed the twenty-four books of the O. T. to be indicated by the twenty-four wings of the Apocalyptic animals (in Apoc. c. 4, B. P. x. 296), as do the Commentaries ascribed to Victorinus (Gall. iv. 56), and to S. Aug. (App. iii. 164), and Bede (Opp. v. 771), and using another mystical interpretation, in Lib. Reg. L. iv. (the commentary formerly ascribed to S. Eucherius; but, as Cosin notices, by a Briton, in L. iii. Reg. c. 22). Ambr. Ansbert. finds them marked by the twenty-four elders in the Apoc. (c. iii. p. 101); Peter de la Celle, in another mystical meaning, adding that "plenary instruction of souls is foretasted from this number of books" (de panib. L. ii. B. P. xxiii. 728). Thomas Angl. counts them as twenty-four or twenty-two, as S. Jerome (in Apoc. c. 4). The number of twenty-two books is retained to designate the books of Divine authority in the O. T. by Agobard, A. 835 (de priv. et jure sacerd. n. 6, Gall. xiii. 434); by Anastasius Biblioth., who at Rome follows Nicephorus, whom he translates (in Pithœus Opusc. p. 16); by Abbot Giselbert (Alterc. Syn. et Eccles. c. 1 fin.); by Peter Maurice, enumerating them and proving their Divine authority against the Petrobusians (Ep. c. Petr. Bibl. Clun. col. 1088); by Hugo de S. Victore (de Script. et Scriptor. sacris, c. 6, and in four other places enumerating them), and Rich. de S. Vict. (Excerpt. ii. 9; P. i. p. 320); and Peter Comestor (Præf. in Hist. Josh. Hist. Schol. f. 82, Lugd.); by John Beleth (de div. off. c. 60, f. 516); by John of Salisbury (Ep. 172. B. P. xxiii. 468); by the Glossa ordinaria, "but whatever is external to these (I speak of the O. T.), as Jerome says, is to be placed among the Apocryphal" (Præf. c. 3, sub fin.). Card. Hugo de S. Caro commented upon them as a distinct and different class.

Of writers who specifically rejected particular books, Pope

S. Gregory speaks of the Maccabees as not canonical, but set forth for the edification of the Church, as S. Jer. (Mor. in Job xix. 21, n. 34, Ben.; the book on Job was finished and sent to Leander, Bishop of Seville, after he was Pope, Baron. A. 586, n. 26; A. 595, n. 71). The Maccabees are excluded also by the writer of the de Mirabil. S. Scr. (c. 34; S. Aug. App. iii. 26). Hermann Contract. closes the history of "Divine Scripture" with the times of Nehemiah, ranking the Maccabees with Josephus and Africanus, as did Euseb., S. Jerome, Bede (Chron. in Canis. Thes. iii. p. 203). Pope S. Gregory counts three books of Solomon only (Procem. in Cant. Opp. T. iii. 2, col. 401). Alcuin rejected a passage of Ecclus., when alleged for the heresy of Elipantus, "because S. Jerome and Isidore attest undoubtingly that it is to be put among Apocryphal Scriptures" (adv. Elipant. Opp. i. 940, 941). Ralph of Fulda, A. 910, says that "Tobit, Judith, and the Maccabees, though they are used for the instruction of the Church, yet have not perfect authority" (in Lev. lib. xiv. init. p. 203). Rupertus says of the Wisdom of Solomon, that it is not of the Canon, nor Canon. Scripture (in Gen. iii. 31, p. 48). Peter Maurice, Abbot of Clugny, having counted the twenty-two, says, "after these authentic books of H. Scr. there remain six, not to be passed in silence; Wisd., Ecclus., Tob., Jud., and Macc., which, although they could not attain the dignity of the preceding, yet for their praiseworthy and very necessary teaching deserved to be received by the Church" (Bibl. Clun. col. 1142). Hugo de S. Victore says, "they are read indeed, but are not written in the Canon" (de Scripturis et Scriptor. Sacris, c. 6); "in the canon of authority" (in Spec. Eccl. c. 8); "are Apocryphal, yet are read and belong to the O. T., but are not confirmed in the Canon" (de Scr. c. 12); and are likened to writings of "holy fathers and doctors, which are not computed in the list of Divine Scriptures" (Ib. c. 6). Richard de S. Victore follows him (Excerpt. ii. 9). Peter Comestor says that "Tobit is in no class [of the O. T.], that S. Jerome used Hagiographa in a wider sense, so as to include Apocrypha too" (Præf. in hist. Tob. Hist. Eccl. f. 146), and calls the history of Bel and the Dragon a fable (Præf. in Dan. c. 1, f. 151). Joh. Beleth counts four Apocryphal books; Tobit,

Maccabees, Philo (i. e. Wisd. of Sol)., Ecclus. "These four the Church does not indeed receive, but approves them as having the same subject-matter as the books of Solomon, though not certainly and truly knowing their authors" (de Div. Off. c. 60). John of Salisbury expressly follows S. Jerome, that Wisdom, Ecclus., Judith, Tobit, and the Shepherd, as he asserteth, are not accounted in the Canon, nor the books of the Maccabees (Ep. 172). The Ordinary Gloss censures those "many" (plerique) who, "because they bestow not much pains on H. Scr., suppose that all the books contained in the Bible are to be received and reverenced with like veneration, being unable to distinguish between the Canonical and the non-Canonical books, which the Hebrews separate from the Canon and the Greeks account among 'the Apocryphal.'" "We then have here distinguished them and counted them separately (distinctè); first the Canonical, then the non-Canonical books, between which there is as much difference as between certain and doubtful. For the Canonical were written, the Holy Spirit dictating; the non-Canonical or Apocryphal, it is not known when or by whom they were written. But since they are very good and useful, and nothing is found in them which contradicts the Canonical, therefore the Church reads them, and permits them to be read by the faithful for devotion and reformation of manners. Yet their authority is not esteemed adequate to prove those things which are doubted or denied, or to confirm the authority of the doctrines of the Church, as S. Jerome says. But the Canonical books are of such authority, that, whatever is contained there, it holdeth firmly and unquestioningly" (Bibl. Sacra, una cum gloss. ordin. et interlin. T. i. ad princ.). It subjoins severally to the third and fourth books of Esdras, Tobit, Judith, and each book of the Maccabees, the words "which is not in the Canon" (ed. Basle, 1506. The words were omitted in several later editions). Card. Hugo includes "the Shepherd" with Ecclus., Wisd., the two Macc., Judith, Tobias, as "Apocrypha, doubtful, not numbered in the Canon; but, because they chant truth, the Church receives them" (Prol. in Jos. T. i. f. 172). On S. Jerome's Prologus galeatus, he says, "This Prologue defends H. Scr. against those who introduce Apocrypha for true. But a book

is called Apocryphal in two ways, either because its author is not known, but its truth is clear (and those the Church receives, not for the proving of the faith, but for instruction of manners), or because the truth is doubted, and these the Church does not receive" (Postill. i. f. 208). S. Thomas Aq. shows that in the time of Dionysius "the book of Wisdom was not yet accounted among the Canonical Scriptures" (on Dionys. de Div. nom. c. 4, lect. 9); and S. Antoninus quotes the 2ª. 2æ. with De Lyra on Tobit, "that these books are not of such authority, that their sayings can be effectively argued from in matters of faith, as can other books of Holy Scripture, whence, perchance, they have the like authority, as have the sayings of saints approved in the Church" (Summa, P. iii. tit. 18, c. 6, T. iii. p. 189. The passage does not now occur in S. Thomas, but may have been omitted, like so many of different writers on the Conc. of the B. V. in orig. sin). In the gloss on the Decretals by Teutonicus the six books are said "to be called Apocryphal; and yet they are read, but perhaps not generally" (in c. *Canones* Dist. xvi. p. 62, Par. 1561). John Balbus in his "Catholicon" repeated S. Jerome's distinction (quoted by S. Antonin. P. iii. tit. xviii. c. 6, n. 3), as does "the sea of histories," or the Rudimentum (p. 317, Lubec. 1475), and Brito in his Comm. on S. Jerome's Prologus, quoted by De Lyra, and De Lyra himself (Præf. in Tobit, T. ii. col. 1499, in 1 Esr. c. i. col. 1280), Ocham (Dial. Par. iii. Tract. i. L. iii. c. 16), and Thomas Waldensis (Doctrinal. Fid. T. i. L. ii. art. 2, c. 22), S. Antoninus (Sum. Hist. P. i. tit. iii. c. 4), Alph. Tostatus, A. 1458, who adds that "the Church does not know that their writers dictated them, inspired by the H. Spirit; obliges no one necessarily to believe what is contained there, and is not clear whether every thing in them is true," yet "it does not find in them any thing false or exceedingly suspected of falsehood, but rather there is in them a doctrine copious, holy, and devout" (Præf. in S. Matt. q. 1 and 3, and Præf. in lib. Paral. q. 7, Opp. viii. f. 15), though in contrast with the Jews he says that "the Church receives and reads them" (Comm. in Prol. Gal. q. 28, Opp. vi. 15, 16). Dionysius à Rickel (who died 1471, and was highly esteemed by Eugenius IV.) followed S. Jerome (in Gen. Art. 4, f. 4), and denies specifically that

Ecclesiasticus (Prol. in Eccl. f. 203), Tobit (Prol. f. 132), the Maccabees (in Macc. c. i. f. 183), or that Susanna, or Bel and the Dragon (in Dan. xiv. f. 429) belong to Canonical Scripture, but expressed his belief of the truth of Tobit, the Maccabees, Sus., and Bel. Card. Ximenes continued the distinction (Bibl. Compl. T. ii. prol. 2; the work was formally approved by Leo X. T. i. princ.), as did Joh. Picus, Count of Mirandula, stating, "his (S. Jer.'s) authority is held most sacred by the Church" (de ord. cred. theor. v. T. ii. pp. 181, 182), and Jas. Faber Stapulens., saying that "they are not of the Canon, nor in the first and supreme authority of the Church" (Præf. in lib. Trium viror. et Virg. Spirit.), and Jodoc. Clichtov. on Damascene, "these books, being accounted of less authority and weight than those twenty-two books of the O. T., were not placed in the ark, but only the Canonical books" (in Damascen. iv. 18). Ludov. Vives still said, "The book of Wisdom is believed to be Philo's, who lived in the times of the Apostles, whose friend he also was (in S. Aug. de Civ. D. xvii. 20), rejected the hist. of Sus. and Bel as Apocrypha, with the third and fourth book of Esdras (Ib. xviii. 31. 36), and also counted Tobit and Judith Apocrypha (de trah. discipl. L. v.). Fr. Georgius, A. 1501, still counted twenty-four books only (in harm. mundi, f. 451; Paris, 1545), and "asserted that Tobit was not in the Canon" (Probl. T. vi. sect. 5). Lastly, Card. Cajetan strongly adhered to S. Jerome, twenty years before the Council of Trent (in Hebr. i., and in Esther c. iii., and even in his dedicatory Epistle to Clement VII.), as did John Driedo (who was employed to write against Luther), de Eccl. Scriptt. et Dogm. L. 1, c. 4, ad diffic. iii.

S. Isidore of Seville, on the other hand, after enumerating the Hebrew Canon in the three classes, says, "We have a fourth class of the O. T., of those books which are not in the Hebrew Canon"—Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobias, Judith, two of the Maccabees—"which, although the Jews separate among the Apocryphal books, the Church of Christ both venerates and speaks of among Divine books" (Etymol. vi. 1). Of Ecclus. he says, "It is clear that this book was both written by Jesus, son of Sirach, and was held in the same veneration as the other books of Holy Scripture" (Procem. in

lib. v. and N. T. n. 41). Rabanus Maurus follows him (Opp. vi. p. 36). There seem to be great difficulties as to the authorities for the larger Canon—the Council of Carthage, Innocent I., Gelasius. As to the Council of Carthage, its date, "Cæsario et Attico Conss.," is A.D. 397; but this was the thirteenth year of Siricius. Yet, in the body of the Canon, it is proposed, "Let this be made known to our brother and fellow-Bishop Boniface, *or* other Bishops of those parts, that we have received from the fathers that these things are to be read in Church." But Boniface was not Bishop of Rome until A. 418. And the next, the 47th Canon, speaks of consulting "our brethren and fellow-Bishops Siricius and Simplician." Then, as to the Epistle of Innocent I., it is improbable that Exuperius, Bishop of Thoulouse, should have consulted about the Canon, since S. Hilary had a clear knowledge of the Canon some fifty-five years before; and this part of Innocent's Epistle—if written by him—must have been little known, since the Council of Carthage consulted Boniface and other Italian Bishops about the Scriptures read of old among them, some years afterwards. In the Breviatio Canonum, also, by Ferrandus (A. 530), tit. 228, there is a heading, "That nothing besides Canonical Scriptures be read in the Church." But the Council of Laodicea, c. 57, and Council of Carthage, c. 45, are alone quoted. The Breviarium Canonum of Cresconius, having the same Canon as that of Ferrandus (Can. 299), alleges only the Council of Carthage, although quoting Pope Innocent in many other places for other objects.

In regard to the decree of S. Gelasius, Pearson[1] observes that in the collection of Pontifical decrees by Dionysius Exiguus, there are other decrees of Gelasius, but not this. And yet Dionysius wrote in the very year which has, apparently, been taken from him for the supposed Roman Council, "the consulship of Asterius and Præsidius," i.e. A. 494.

The argument from the omission in the Collection of Canons by Cresconius and Ferrandus holds equally against the Canon

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[1] Vindiciæ Epistt. S. Ignatii, i. 4, in Cotel. Patres Apost. T. ii. App. p. 276, sqq.

of Gelasius; neither Pope certainly was *their* authority for the Canon of Holy Scripture. It seems also inconceivable that Pope Gelasius should have written, "After those books of the Old and New Testament which we regularly receive, the holy Roman Church *forbids not to receive* these writings also, i.e. the holy Council of Nice," &c., enumerating the four first general Councils, which, if they had not received, they would have been heretics; which having been received by the whole Church, it depended not upon *them* to receive or not to receive them. Bp. Pearson notices that Ivo, A.D. 1117, gives the list of the Canonical books without the name of Gelasius (P. iv. c. 61), and the decree about books approved or disapproved, with his name, after an interval (c. 64). *This* decree as to books approved or disapproved is also what is chiefly quoted. Thus, of the writers referred to, Lupus of Ferrara (A.D. 830) refers to *it* only; "Gelasius, with seventy most learned Bishops, laying down what writers were or were not to be received" (De 3 Quæstt. fin. B. P. xv. 57). Pope Nicolas (A.D. 865) quotes it as authority, that the Decretal Epistles were to be received, and that great care was to be taken about reading acts of martyrs: he refers to Pope Innocent alone for the Canon, and so probably knew nothing about the list attributed to Gelasius (Epist. ad univ. Episc. Galliæ in Concil. Rom. A. 1065). The Chronicon Centulense (in D'Achery Spicileg. iv. p. 484) simply mentions among their books, "Gelasii Papæ de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis." Aldhelm (A.D. 896) says (without mentioning any name) that "the judgment of the orthodox Fathers sanctioned, by decretal writings, wholly to abdicate and eliminate afar all the other phrenzies of Apocryphas as horrible-sounding thunder of words" (De Laud. Virg. c. ii. B. P. xiii. 37). Atto (A.D. 945), in his Capitulare, quotes from the decrees of Gelasius two sentences only, one "that all opuscula and tractates of divers Fathers who in no way deviated from the fellowship of the Holy Roman Church might be read," the other, as to the care with which acts of martyrs were to be read (Mai Scriptt. Vett. Nova Coll. T. vi. P. ii. p. 81), which occur in the latter part of the decree. The whole is however spoken of by Hincmar (A.D. 845) under the name of Gelasius, in his Opusc. 55 Capp. adv. Hincmar.

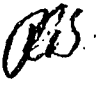
Laudun., c. 25, Opp. ii. The list is also given by Burchard (A. 1057) and Ivo (A. 1117), both from Isidore Mercator, with the difference that Ivo gives only "three books of Solomon," Burchard, in the present text, has "five books of Solomon," ascribing to him, not "Wisdom" only, but Ecclesiasticus. The copy from which the Roman Council of A. 494 was derived, agrees with neither, having "three books of Solomon," as Ivo, but adding "item Sapientiæ liber unus, Ecclesiasticus liber unus," which Ivo has not. Gratian, who ascribes the latter part of the decree to "Gelasius, in a Council held at Rome with seventy Bishops," has not the Canon[2].

It seems probable that (as still in Ivo), the portion about the Ecclesiastic writers approved or disapproved, was independent of the catalogue of Holy Scripture. Bp. Pearson notices, that "the Codex Jurensis," published by Chifflet, in the decretal of Hormisdas, premises the Ordo of the books of Holy Scripture, but alters the words of the decree, that it may refer to the Ordo. For whereas in other MSS. it stands simply "After the Prophetic, and Evangelic, and Apostolic Scripture," this substitutes, "After *all these* Prophetic, and Evangelic, and Apostolic Scriptures, *which we have above produced;*" and for "We have regularly received," puts "We have above regularly enumerated." The Ballerini, in their "Dissertation" de Ant. Collect. Can. (P. ii. c. xi. pp. clii.—clix.), mention other MSS., in which either form is used, according as the decree was or was not connected with the Catalogue. They themselves think, that the decree as to Ecclesiastical books belongs to S. Gelasius (p. clv.); that the Catalogue of Holy Scripture does not belong to him; but that, being found in the addition to the Spanish Collection of Canons, and in those additions ascribed to Hormisdas, and those additions being, they hold, genuine, that Catalogue was sent by Hormisdas to Spain, who also put the Apostolic Canons among the Apocrypha (ib. clvi., clvii.).

The main question is, however, not as to the greater or less extent of the Canon, but in what sense the word "the Canon" was used, whether a smaller Canon of books, upon

[2] Dist. xv. c. 3.

which our Lord set His seal, was acknowledged, as well as a larger Canon, the "totus Canon" of S. Augustine, including the later books, which were written after the primary Canon was closed, which was read for edification of life.



THE END.

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